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THE ASSERTIO SEPTEM SACRAMENTORUM.

MONG the many books published in England during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, none perhaps is more celebrated than Henry the Eighth's work against Luther, which earned for him the gratitude of the Pope, and for the English sovereigns the title of 'Fidei Defensor.'

It would be thought that the bibliography of such a book would have been fully worked out long ago, but this does not seem to be the case, and many misleading and erroneous statements about it are to be found even in the most recent books.

I do not propose to enter into the literary history of the book, whether Fisher wrote it, or what share Wolsey had in its production. It seems pretty well agreed that it was the king's own work, though he, no doubt, wisely sought the assistance of some of his skilled councillors. All are agreed that he was a singularly well-educated man, and keenly interested in the ecclesiastical turmoils of the times. That he was quite competent to write such a book

is undoubted, and I quite accept his reply to Luther's impertinent innuendo, 'Although ye fayne your self to thynke my boke nat myne owne, yet it is well knowen for myn, and I for myne avowe it.'

The Assertio itself was issued by Pynson on 12th July, 1521, and the following is a bibliographical description:

Title. [within a border] ASSERTIO SEPTEM SACRAMENTORUM ADVERSUS MARTIN. | LUTHERUM. ædita ab INUITIS- | SIMO ANGLIÆ ET FRAN- | CIÆ REGE, ET DO. HY- | BERNIÆ HENRI | CO EIVS NO- | MINIS O- | CTAVO. | Colophon, leaf 78 b Apud inclytam urbem Londinum in ædibus Pynso- | nianis. AN. M. D. XXI. quarto Idus Iulii. | Cum priuilegio a rege indulto. |

Collation: A-V⁴; 80 leaves,
Leaf 1^a, Title; 1^b, blank; 2^a-77^b, Text; 78^a, Errata;
78^b, Colophon; 79, 80, blank.

The title is enclosed in a broad border frame with figures of Mutius and Porsenna at the bottom. The initials H. H. for Hans Holbein occur on a shield at the side, and the whole border is a very exact copy of one used by Froben at Basle.

This title-page is a good example of the lack of appreciation of good spacing shown by the early printers. Of the ten lines of the title, seven end with part of a word, while a very little care would have procured the same effect with the words undivided.

The number of copies printed of this first edition was no doubt very large, and copies are comparatively common; the British Museum, for example, has three, and the Bodleian six. The combined

Royal authorship and the subject would occasion a great demand for the book, and copies were no doubt soon dispersed over Europe. On 23rd August, Erasmus wrote to Pace that he had seen a copy of the book in the hands of the papal nuncio Marini, and in a letter to Warham of the same date, complained that he had received no copy of the book in spite of Wolsey's promises.

Now for some time Henry had coveted a new honour. He alone amongst the sovereigns of Europe was undistinguished by any title connected with the prevailing religion. In June, 1521, Wolsey had applied through Cardinal Campeggio to the College of Cardinals for some such recognition, but nothing had been determined. The publication of the *Assertio* seemed to offer an excellent means of procuring the honour which the Consistory seemed unwilling to bestow.

As soon, therefore, as the book was ready, Henry set to work to have it formally presented to the Pope. At the end of July, Wolsey wrote to the king:

'SIR,

These shall be onely to advertise your Grace that at this present Tyme I do send M^r Tate unto your Highnes with the booke bounden and dressed, which ye purpose to send to the Pope's Holynes, with a Memoriall of such other, as be allso to be sent by him with his autentique Bulles to all other Princes and Universities. And albeit S^r this Booke is right honorable, pleasant and fair, yet I assure your Grace, that which Hall hath written (which within 4 Days wol be parfited) is ferre more excellent and princely: And shall long contynue for your perpetual Memory whereof your Grace shall be more plenarye Informed by the said M^r Tate. I do send also

unto your Highnes the Choyse of certyne Versis to be written in the Booke to be sent to the Pope of your owne Hande; With the Subscription of your Name to remain in Archivis Eccl'ie ad perpetuam & Immortalem vestre Magestatis gloriam, Laudem & memoriam, by your Most humble Chaplain

‘T. CAR^{LIS} EBOR.’

The verses which were to pass as Henry's own were duly inscribed in the presentation copies. Montaigne, in the account of his voyage to Italy in 1581, wrote: ‘I saw the original of the book that the King of England composed against Luther, which he sent about fifty years since to Pope Leo X., subscribed of his proper hand, with this beautiful Latin distich, also of his hand:

Anglorum rex Henricus, Leo decime, mittit
Hoc opus, et fidei testem et amicitiae.’

On 25th August, Wolsey wrote to Clerk, the ambassador at Rome, giving full instructions about the presentation of the book to the Pope. He was to present it in the following form, declaring the king's resolution to support the Church and extinguish heresy by the sword and pen. He was then to deliver the book privately, covered with cloth of gold, subscribed by the king's hand, ‘wherein the king's grace hath devised and made two verses, inserted in the said book by the king's own hand,’ and if on perusal it be approved by the Pope, he is to have it sent forth with the Pope's authority, and request leave to present it publicly in full consistory, there to receive the papal sanction, and furthermore, ‘The King's grace by

th' advice of his counsaill hath made a memoriall of such titles as he thought most convenient.'

With this letter twenty-seven copies of the book were sent for distribution. On 14th September, Clerk wrote an answer to Wolsey's letter, saying he had received the twenty-eight copies of the book. He had 'delyvered his Holines ij bokes, [one] of them covered with clothe of gold, the other with b and his Holynes and with a very amyabill' the said bokys of me, and beholding the porteur, fashion and pryme deckyng of the said bokis (whiche he semyd to like veray well) openyd the boke coverd with clothe of gold, and begynnyng the prohem redde thereof successively v lefes without interruption. His Holynes in redyng, at such placeis as he lykyed (and that seemyd to be att every second lyne) made ever some demonstracion, vel nutu vel verbo.' Clerk wished to read to the Pope the verses written by the king, 'and by cause the King's Grace had wryten the sayd versis with a very small penne, and by cause I knew the Pope to be of a very dull sight, I wold have redde unto his Holynes the said versis aloud but his Holynes, quada' aviditate legendi, toke the boke from me and redd the sayd versis iij tymes very promptly, to my great merval and commendyng them singularly.'

The Pope approved of its being presented in the consistory, and desired five or six more to deliver them to the Cardinals. He approved of their being sent to divers Christian princes, and liked the king's new title. Clerk ended his letter by saying that

¹ MS. Vitellius, B. iv. 165. The portions indicated by dots are illegible.

he had asked the Pope to fix a day for the consistory, and would have his own oration ready in a fortnight, and would forward it to Wolsey.

At the end of September Clerk informed the Pope that his oration was ready, and asked for a public consistory for presenting the king's book. The Pope promised to do all that was necessary to declare his approbation of the book, and asked Clerk for the substance of his oration, that his holiness might be ready with an answer [*Responsio Roman. Pont. extempore facta!*].

On Wednesday, 2nd October, the Pope summoned the consistory. He sat upon a raised throne beneath a cloth of state with the cardinals on stools before him. Clerk, having kissed the Pope's foot, proceeded to kiss him on either cheek, and then kneeling before him, delivered the oration. This done, he presented the book and received the Pope's thanks in Latin.

On 11th October was issued the Bull of Leo X., conferring upon the king, in full consistory, the title of *Fidei Defensor*. The original, signed by the Pope and cardinals, is preserved in the British Museum [*Vit. B. iv. 226*].

On 4th November, Leo wrote to Henry, stating that he had received from Clerk, dean of the Chapel, in consistory, the king's work against Luther. He gives the king infinite thanks, '*O fidei defensor!*' and has conferred this title upon him, as he will learn by his letters '*sub plumbo,*' for his services to the holy See.

Cardinal Campeggio was also loud in his praise of the book, 'nothing could be better expressed or

argued, and the king seems to have been inspired more by an angelic and celestial than by a human spirit. We can hereafter truly call him "Luthero-mastica."

There seems to be a certain amount of confusion amongst writers on the subject as to the identity of the book presented to the Pope, some speaking of it as a manuscript and some as a printed book. The kindness of my friend, the Rev. H. M. Bannister, who obtained for me information about the copies in the Vatican, enables the question to be fairly definitely settled. The two copies presented to the Pope, which are referred to in Clerk's and Wolsey's letters, are still preserved in the Vatican Library. One is a manuscript [Vatic. lat. 3731], presumably 'that which Hall hath written,' the other a copy of the book printed upon vellum [Memb. III. 4], and both contain the written verses 'Anglorum Rex,' and the royal autograph.

Unfortunately both these copies are in comparatively modern binding. Pastor states [*Geschichte den Päpste*, Band IV., Abteilung I., 1906] that it is said that the original binding of the manuscript was stolen in the siege of Rome in 1527, and perhaps that of the printed copy was lost at the same time. Two copies were sent to the Pope, one as a personal, the other as an official gift, and from the wording of Wolsey's letter, it seems most probable that the manuscript copy was the one formally presented in consistory on 2nd October, to remain 'in archivis ecclesiae.' It contains a manuscript note stating that it was given by the Pope on 12th October, 1521, to the two librarians

of the Vatican 'cum aliis asservandum et custodiendum.'

It seems probable that the copies sent by Henry to the various sovereigns, and perhaps some to the more important cardinals, were printed on vellum, while those sent to the Universities and lesser dignitaries were on paper with the royal signature written or stamped.

Of the five copies on vellum at present known, four are in the Vatican:

Memb. III. 1. This copy contains no inscription of any kind, but is in a splendid old binding of red velvet studded with small gold stars and with solid gold clasps.

Memb. III. 2. Has the name 'Henry rex' printed from a stamp on page 2. The binding is modern, and the copy is said to be that sent to the King of Portugal.

Memb. III. 3. Has also the name printed from a stamp. The binding is old, and has upon it the arms of Paul III. [Alexander Farnese, 1534-49].

Memb. III. 4. This is the copy sent to the Pope. It contains the verse and the signature, but has in addition the king's name printed from the stamp above the verse.

The fifth copy is in the Rylands Library, and was formerly in the Spencer collection. It seems to have been purchased from Edwards the bookseller, and is in an eighteenth century calf binding with the arms of Pius VI. [John Angelo Braschi, 1775-99]. It has been roughly illuminated, and has coloured borders to every page, executed in a very poor and tawdry manner. At the beginning

is the inscription 'Regi Dacie,' probably in Henry's own hand.

Though the Bull confirming Henry in his title of Fidei Defensor was issued on 11th October, there was considerable delay in its transmission to England, a delay further increased by the death of Pope Leo X. on 1st December, 1521, and it was not till after this date that Wolsey made his speech to the king, in which he congratulated him on the honour paid him by the Pope, and himself on having induced him to undertake the work. That the king was much aided by Wolsey may be judged from his words reported by Pace to Wolsey, 'that though God hath sent unto him a little learning whereby he hath attempted to write against the erroneous opinions and heresies of the said Luther, yet he never intended so to do afore he was by your grace moved and led thereunto. Wherefore his highness saith that your grace must of good congruity be partner of all the honour and glory he hath obtained by that act.'

In December, 1521, an edition was issued at Rome, whose description follows:

Title [within a border] LIBRVM HVNC INVICTISS.
| ANGLIÆ REGIS FIDEI DE- | FENSORIS CON-
TRA MART. LVTHERVM | LEGENTIBVS, DE-
| CEM ANNORVM ET TOTIDEM | XL. INDVL-
| GENTIA APOSTOLICA | AVTHORITATE |
CONCESSA EST. | Cum Gratia | et priuilegio. | Leaf
5^a [within a border] ASSERTIO SE- | ptē Sacramētorum
ad- | uersus Marti. Lu- | therum, ædita ab in- | uictissimo
An- | glia & Franciæ | rege, & do. | Hybernæ Henrico
| eius nominis | octauo. | Colophon. Leaf 89^b ¶ Romæ,

opera Stephani Guillireti, | mense Decembri. M.D. | XXI.
apostolica | Sede vacan- | te. |

Collation: [*⁴] A-V⁴X⁶Y⁴Z²; 96 leaves.

Leaf 1^a, Indulgence; 1^b, Verses; 2^a-4^a, Brief of Leo X.; 4^b, blank; 5^a, Title; 5^b, blank; 6^a, 8^b, Henry's addresses to Leo X. and the readers; 9^a-89^b, Text; 90, blank; 91^a-96^a, Oration of Clerk; 96^b, Answer of Leo X.

This edition is generally supposed to have been issued under special papal influence, and the prefatory matter, with Clerk's oration and the answer of Leo, may have appeared here before Pynson issued his supplement. A quarto edition of 1521 is stated to have been printed at Paris by Claude Chevallon, but I can trace no copy of it.

About the same time Pynson issued in London two supplements, of twelve leaves and eight leaves:

Title [within a border] LIBELLO HV | IC REGIO
HAEC | INSVNT. | Oratio Ioannis Clerk apud Ro.
pon. | in exhibitione operis regii. | Responsio roman.
pont. ad eandam ex | tempore facta. | Bulla ro. pon.
ad regiam maiestatem, | pro eius operis confirmatione.
| Summa indulgentiarū, libellum ipsum | regium legen-
tibus, concessarum. | Libellus regius aduersus Mar-
tinum | Lutherum hæresiarchon, | Epistola regia ad
illustrissimos | Saxoniae duces pia admonitoria. |

Collation: A-C⁴; 12 leaves, 28 lines.

Leaf 1^a, Title; 1^b, blank; 2^a-7^a, Oration of Clerk; 7^b, Answer of Leo X.; 8^a, Latin verses; 8^b, Title of Bull; 9^a-11^a, Bull; 11^b, Indulgence; 12, blank.

On this title-page mention is made of the Epistola

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ad Saxoniae duces, and this was printed as a supplement of eight leaves, to follow the text of the Assertio:

Title [within a border] EPISTOLA | REGIA AD
ILLVSTRIS- | SIMOS SAXONIAE | DVCES PIE
AD- | MONITO- | RIA. | ¶ |

Collation: ab⁴; 8 leaves, 28 lines.

Leaf 1^a, Title; 1^b, blank; 2^a-6^b, Text of Letter; 7^a, Errata; 7^b, 8, blank.

Thus Pynson's edition (*cp.* page 2), with the two supplements, should contain one hundred leaves, leaves 12, 91, 92, and 100 being blank. This last supplement, being bound at the end of the book instead of with the other at the beginning, is very often missing. Several separate editions of this letter, with the answer of Duke George, edited by Hieronymus Emser, were printed abroad in 1523.

In January, 1522, Pynson published another edition of the Assertio, but the type appears to have been only partly reset, several sheets having the same errors and typographical defects as are found in the first. The first sheet, however, has been reset, and the last two gatherings of four leaves each (t, v⁴) of the first edition, have been compressed into one gathering of six leaves (t⁶), so that this second edition consists of 78 leaves with one blank leaf at end in place of the 80 leaves, with two blank leaves at end of the first edition. The second edition ends on the verso of leaf 77: 'Londini in ædibus Pynsonianis. AN. M.D.XXII. | xvii Kalendas Februarii. Cum pri- | uilegio a rege indulto.'

Now it is quite clear that the *Assertio* by itself, without the supplements, is a complete book; probably most of the first edition was dispersed long before they were printed, so that it is incorrect to describe it when without the supplements, as is often done, as imperfect. The papal approval and indulgences, and the Bull announcing the king's new title, must have caused a new demand for copies of the book, so that when Pynson had printed his supplements, he added them to all copies of the original issue which still remained in stock, and printed off a new issue of the *Assertio* to meet the increased demand.

Even copies of the re-issue do not always occur with the supplements. The copy in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, has them added in manuscript.

Such examples as I have seen of Pynson's *Assertio* in the original binding have all been ornamented with the same panels, and have been bound by John Reynes. The panels are not those he generally made use of, but have no binder's trade-mark or initials upon them, and may perhaps have been specially prepared for this work.

One has a shield bearing quarterly 1 and 4 France, 2 and 3 England, supported by a dragon and greyhound, with the sun and moon, and shields of St. George and the city of London in the upper corners. The other has the Tudor rose between two ribbons supported by angels, and bearing the distich:

Hec rosa virtutis de celo missa sereno
Eternum florens, regia scepra feret.

In the upper corners are the sun and moon, and below the rose a branch of pomegranate [Weale, p. 121, No. 109].

Though these panels have no binder's mark or initials, we can identify their owner by the roll sometimes used with them. On the two copies in the libraries of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and J. Pierpont Morgan the panels are separated by a piece of roll-produced ornament, in both cases having the mark of John Reynes.

Probably some of the twenty-seven copies forwarded to Rome for dispersal were in this binding; certainly some copies thus bound and with the royal autograph remain in foreign libraries. One is at Bologna; another, sold in the Yémeniz sales in 1867, was in this binding and had Henry's signature. It had also the inscription, 'Collegii Anglicani ex dono ill^{mi} Guilielmi Alani cardinalis Angliae an. 1521' [?1571], and was purchased by the Abbé Bossuet for 5600 francs. The copy in the Fitzwilliam Museum, with Henry's signature and in the original binding, was bought in Rome by a Mr. Woodburn, who presented it to the University. An interesting copy, now in a private library, which has passed through the collections of Herbert, Bindley, Hibbert and Wilks, belonged to Cranmer, and contains his notes.

The Fitzwilliam copy was the subject of a very curious legend. It was picked up by Mr. Woodburn for a trifle from a bookstall in Rome, and from the fact that it contained the king's signature and had the Royal arms on the binding, the happy purchaser jumped to the conclusion that it was the

identical copy presented by Henry to the Pope, and no doubt looted from the Vatican by the French in 1798. What added to the interest of this copy was the fact that Leo X., on reading it through, had carefully struck his pen through the words 'Fidei defensor' whenever they occurred. This bubble was pricked by Sir F. Madden, who, in a most able letter to 'Notes and Queries' [Series I., Vol. 12, p. 1], pointed out amongst many other excellent reasons why the volume could never have belonged to Leo and have been annotated by him, that all those portions in which the words 'Fidei Defensor' occur were not in print until after Leo's death.

The copy in Mr. Morgan's collection, formerly in the library of Lord Gosford and Mr. Toovey, was said to have formerly belonged to Queen Elizabeth, but there seem to be no valid grounds for this assertion.

Two other editions appeared in 1522:

Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, aedita ab Invictissimo Angliae rege Henrico VIII. Antverpiae in aedibus Michaelis Hillenii. Ann. MD.XXII. 4to. 76 ll. B.M. [Panzer, VI., p. 8, 50].

Assertio septem Sacramentorum aduersus Martinum Lutherum aedita ab inuictissimo Angliae et Franciae rege et dno Hyberniae Heinrico eius nominis octavo; cum registro nuper addito atque D. Erasm. Rothe. epistola huius operis commendaticia. Impress. Argentine per honestum virum Johannem Grieninger in vigilia sancti Laurentii anno salutis nostre millesimo quingentesimo

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vigesimo secundo. 4to. 50 ll. B.M. [Panzer, VI., p. 98, 612].

Later editions are :

1523. Assertio VII Sacramentorum adversus Lutherum, edita ab Inviētissimo Angliae et Franciæ rege Henrico VIII cum præfatione eiusdem ad Leonem X. S.L et Typ N. 4to. [Panzer, IX., p. 133, 252].

[1523]. Assertio septem | Sacramentorum Aduersus | Martinum Lutherum | Henrico Octauo | Angliae Regi | Adscri- | pta. | [Device of B. Rembolt]. On the last leaf the device of C. Chevallon. 4to. [Stonyhurst College].

Apparently printed to accompany Fisher's 'Confutatio' of 1523.

1543. Assertio Septem | sacramētorum aduersus Martin Lutherum, edita ab inuictis- | simo Angliae & Fran- | ciae rege & domi- | no Hyberniae | Henrico eius | nominis octa- | uo. | Romae | Apud F. Priscianensem Flo- | rentinum | MD.XLIII. 4to. 78 leaves.

The title is enclosed in a fine woodcut.

1562. Assertio Septem Sacramentorum . . . cui subnexa est ejusdem Regis epistola, Assertionis ipsius . . . defensoria. Accedit quoque R.P.D. Johan Roffen. Episcopi contra Lutheri Captivitatem Babylonicam, Assertionis Regiae defensio. [edited by J. Romberts]. 16°. G. Desboys. Paris. 1562. B.M.

A copy of this edition in a beautiful binding by Cloris Eve for Marguerite de Valois, sold in the Turner sale (1888) for £118.

Finally the book appeared in an English translation in 1687:

Assertion of the Seven Sacraments, with his Epistle to the Pope, Mr. John Clark's Oration, the Pope's Answer and Bull, &c. Translated by T. W. London. 1687. 4to.

E. GORDON DUFF.

THE WRITINGS OF OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

IT is generally recognised by statisticians and students of literature that certain counties and towns have raised up more than an average number of men and women of genius. Why this extraordinary concentration of great men should take place in certain localities it is difficult to say; but that there has been such concentration is indisputable. Mr. Havelock Ellis, in his suggestive "Study of British Genius," states that the district of East Anglia has produced the greatest number of English geniuses. Be this as it may, the Eastern and Midland Counties are noted for their great writers. Lincolnshire has its Tennyson; Suffolk, its Edward FitzGerald and Sir Thomas Browne; Warwick, its Shakespeare, Landor, and George Eliot. Of English towns, London is not only the metropolis but the brain: in it or its environs have been born most of our best writers, among whom may be mentioned Chaucer, Spenser, Ben Jonson, Milton, Pope, Browning, Ruskin, Arnold, Morris, and Swinburne.

If this is true of England, it is not less true of America. Ever since the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Bay, the State of Massachusetts has been the most hallowed part of the American continent, and the towns of Boston and Cambridge

the most interesting places in that State. At Boston was held that memorable 'tea-party' which signalized the outbreak of the American Revolution; and here were born Emerson, Motley, Franklin, and Poe. Cambridge, distant not very far from Boston, is the home of Harvard University, from which there graduated in the early years of the last century, a group of scholars and poets whose influence on American literature was very great indeed. Three of these—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, and Oliver Wendell Holmes—won international fame; and a fourth—Professor C. E. Norton—has endeared himself to all Dante students by his translation of the 'Commedia.'

Oliver Wendell Holmes was born at Cambridge in 1809, and came of the 'Brahmin caste of New England,' his father, the Rev. Abiel Holmes, being a descendant of the Puritans who colonized the province. Graduating at Harvard in what became the famous 'Class of 29,' he began the study of the law, but gave it up at the end of a year for the more congenial profession of medicine. After the usual course he spent two years at Paris, walking the hospitals, and attending the lectures of Louis and others. On his return to America he set up his red lamp, and obtained the chair of Anatomy and Physiology at Dartmouth College; vacating this in 1847 for a similar position at Harvard. As an instructor he was highly respected and beloved; but as time went on he became less of a physician and more of a man of letters; and it is as a writer that he is remembered at the present day.

At a very early date Dr. Holmes, unlike most members of his profession, turned to poetry. As an undergraduate he had a reputation for writing clever comic verses; but, outside the college classrooms, he was practically unknown till he published, in the year of his graduation, the stirring ballad of 'Old Ironsides.' The patriotic fervour of these lines electrified the public at once, and had the desired effect of postponing the breaking up of the old frigate 'Constitution' for a number of years. While in the law school, he contributed occasional pieces to the 'Collegian,' a students' paper; and in after years read poems before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, of which he was a life-long member, and at the annual gatherings of 'the boys.' Whether these effusions, or the more serious compositions of his prime bear the marks of the highest poetry remains to be seen.

Matthew Arnold in a well-known essay avers that 'the greatness of a poet lies in his powerful and beautiful application of ideas to life,' and in another equally well-known paper, he says that 'Poetry is interpretative both by having natural magic in it, and by having moral profundity.' Judged by these standards, much of Holmes's poetry is found wanting; but if the lesser standard of its power to amuse and please be admitted, it will pass. Professor Beers—a sound critic—says: 'It is mostly on the colloquial level, excellent society verse, but even in its serious moments too smart and too pretty to be taken very gravely; with a certain glitter, knowingness, and flippancy about it, and an absence of that self-forgetfulness

and intense absorption in its theme which characterize the work of the higher imagination. This is rather the product of fancy and wit.' Above all things Holmes is a humorist in his verse, and a humorist of a delicate titillating kind. This quality is writ large in such pieces as 'My Aunt,' 'The Stethoscope Song,' 'The Ballad of the Oysterman,' 'The Deacon's Masterpiece,' 'Rip Van Winkle, M.D.,' and 'The Last Leaf'; passing in the last from laughter to tears. Poets do not often range from rollicking humour to pathetic humour; yet this is what Holmes does in 'The Height of the Ridiculous,' and 'The Last Leaf.' The story of the servant who bursts five buttons off his waistcoat with laughing at his master's merry lines has evoked many a laugh, and the picture of the funny old man in his queer breeches and three-cornered hat, dreaming of past days and old renown, has often released a tear. This specifically human element—the sense of tears in human things—is never far from Holmes's verse. It is present in 'The Voiceless,' that tender lament for the unloved ones of the world; in 'Under the Violets'; and to an affecting degree in 'Homesick in Heaven,' a poem in which the yearning of the departed for their bereaved parents, wives, and children, is touchingly expressed.

In one department of poetry Dr. Holmes stands at the head of American and English writers—the poetry of festival and compliment.' For half a century he continued to write, with undiminished energy and unfaltering touch, poems to be read or sung at all kinds of meetings, public and private,

commencements, inaugurations, centennials; meetings of medical societies, Burns' clubs, agricultural societies; dinners of welcome or farewell to Bryant, Dickens, Lowell, Whittier, Longfellow, the Prince of Wales, the Grand-Duke Alexis; layings of foundation-stones, dedication of cemeteries, birthday celebrations, and funeral orations. In short, he performed the duties of an official Laureate of the American people, receiving instead of crowns and Canary wine, the wages of love and regard.

This kind of poetry may seem impermanent when compared with that of Milton and Browning, but it is excellent of its kind; and though it does not pretend to justify the ways of God to men, it assuredly justifies the ways of man to man, in his friendlier moments at least; and this is something.

As a prose-writer Holmes made his début in the pages of the 'Atlantic Monthly.' When Lowell became the editor of that magazine in 1857, he made it a condition of his acceptance that Holmes should be put on the staff. This gave the genial Doctor his chance, and he was not slow to avail himself of it. The twelve numbers of 'The Autocrat at the Breakfast Table' began to appear in the 'Atlantic,' and it is not too much to say that they contributed in no small degree to the success of that brilliant periodical. Elated with the reception given to the 'Autocrat,' he continued the talks in 'The Professor at the Breakfast Table' in the following year; and twelve years later the last oozings of the grapes were served up in

'The Poet.' In his old age the Doctor tried to repeat his early triumphs in 'Over the Teacups'; but the result was hardly encouraging.

These four volumes of table-talk (for that is what they contain) are remarkable, not so much for their uniqueness as for their originality and real human interest. Other and greater men have written something of the sort; but no one has quite succeeded in combining knowledge, criticism, epigrammatic wit, and sentiment so well and so abundantly. This he is able to do by the simple device of selecting his talkers from different orders of society, and grouping them together at the breakfast-table of a city boarding-house. In this way we are introduced to a dozen or more persons of varying physiognomies and accomplishments, ranging from the garrulous landlady and her daughter to the Professor, the crab-souled divinity-student, and the beetle-loving Scarabee. Besides the male boarders there are others of the opposite sex; and it is around three of these—the shy school-mistress, the amber-eyed, tremulous-souled Iris, and the lonely Young Lady—that the emotional interest of the reader gathers. Few love-idylls have been so delicately recorded as that in which the Autocrat and the schoolmistress agree to take the 'long path' together on one of their little walks from the boarding-house to the school:

'At last I got out the question, "Will you take the long path with me?" "Certainly," said the Schoolmistress, "with much pleasure." "Think," I said, "before you answer: if you take the long path with me now, I shall interpret it that we are to part no

more!" The Schoolmistress stepped back with a sudden movement, as if an arrow had struck her.

One of the long granite blocks used as seats was hard by,—the one you may still see by the Gingko tree. "Pray sit down," I said. "No, no," she answered softly, "I will walk the long path with you!"

The old gentleman who sits opposite met us walking arm in arm, about the middle of the long path, and said very charmingly, "Good morning, my dears!"

Of the innumerable topics discussed at the breakfast-table by the Autocrat and his successors, none occupies so much space or is so important as that of religion. This is not to be wondered at, if we remember that Holmes was the son of a Cambridge minister, and had an hereditary as well as an acquired interest in divinity. Though a doctor by profession, he frequently ascended the secular pulpit as a lay preacher, and served his time and generation in a way in which only we, who have inherited the doctrine of evolution and the historical and psychological criticism of the Bible, are in a position to appreciate.

In his day the rigid Calvinism of the orthodox multitudes forbade all discussion of religion; like the divinity-student they said that 'there was danger in introducing discussions or allusions relating to matters of religion into common discourse.' Holmes, on the contrary, held that religion, like politics, should be Americanized. 'When the people of New England stop talking politics and theology,' he makes the Professor say, 'it will be because they have got an Emperor to teach them the one, and a Pope to teach them the other!'

He likened those obscurantists who stuck to their fixed creeds and formulas to tadpoles under water in the dark: removed from the natural stimulus of light, they swelled into larger tadpoles, instead of developing legs and lungs, and becoming frogs. He, at any rate, preferred the whole range of the earth to the narrow circle of a stagnant pond, and he could certainly see farther and better than those who refused to be free. He believed that there was much to be discovered in religion which the orthodox did not dream of, and which they tried to prevent others from suspecting:

‘I find that there is a very prevalent opinion among the dwellers on the shores of Sir Isaac Newton’s “Ocean of Truth,” that salt fish, which have been taken from it a good while, split open, cured, and dried, are the only proper and allowable food for reasonable people. I maintain, on the other hand, that there are a number of live fish still swimming in it, and that every one of us has a right to see if he cannot catch some of them. Sometimes I please myself with the idea that I have landed an actual living fish, small perhaps, but with rosy gills and silvery scales. Then I find the consumers of nothing but the salted and dried article insist that it is poisonous, simply because it is alive, and cry out to people not to touch it. I have not found, however, that people mind them much.’

This is iconoclastic no doubt, but it is not irreligious. Holmes had as strong a belief in the immutability of the religious instinct as most folk; but he held that adaptation was as necessary to its health and life as it is to the life of the body. ‘What we want in the religious and in the political organism,’ he wrote, ‘is just that kind of

vital change which takes place in our bodies—interstitial disintegration and reintegration.’ He therefore, was not surprised to find that every man had a religion peculiar to himself:

‘Iron is essentially the same everywhere and always; but the sulphate of iron is never the same as the carbonate of iron. Truth is invariable; but the Smithate of truth must always differ from the Brownate of truth.’

Such was his general attitude to sacred things. But this was not all: he made some pregnant observations and suggestions which influenced thinkers and scholars who came after him, as ‘that the heart makes the theologian’; ‘that theology must be studied through anthropology, and not anthropology through theology’; and that ‘sin must be studied as a section of anthropology.’

This last axiom he proceeded to exemplify in two ‘medicated’ novels, published during the period that elapsed between the writing of the ‘Professor’ and the ‘Poet.’ In the ‘Autocrat’ he averred that every man had the stuff of one novel in him; and the idyll of the schoolmistress, above referred to, proved that he at any rate had the talent and the sympathy to write one. But few, I imagine, were prepared for such a singular and moving tale as ‘Elsie Venner,’ whose heroine united with her wild beauty and fascinating ways something of the serpentine nature of Coleridge’s ‘Geraldine’ and Keats’s ‘Lamia’; her mother having been bitten by a rattlesnake a little while before the birth of the girl, and kept alive in the meantime by powerful antidotes. As Elsie grew up

she showed unmistakable signs of her serpent ways : biting her cousin suddenly ; dancing in wild ecstasy, and making a noise like a rattlesnake's tail with her castanets ; curling herself up on mats and under trees ; and staying out all night on Rattlesnake Ledge with the ophidians she had learnt to charm. Myrtle Hazard, the heroine of 'The Guardian Angel,' had nothing of the reptile in her, but she was not less lawless than Elsie, having Indian blood in her veins. When only fifteen years old she ran away from home, and sailed down the river in a canoe in the night, just as her painted and plumed ancestors had done before her. Later, at school, whilst acting in an Indian play, she threatened to stab a girl who had torn a wreath off her head in a fit of jealousy.

Both these books are studies in spiritual pathology, and preach Dr. Holmes's favourite doctrines of heredity and the limitation of free-will by transmitted tendencies—doctrines which all must accept in part of necessity, but which most of us, especially theologians and practical moralists, feel to be dangerous. He makes Dr. Honeywood, the warm-hearted preacher, say :

'He did not believe in the responsibility of idiots. He did not believe a new-born infant was morally answerable for other people's acts. He thought that a man with a crooked spine should never be called to account for not walking erect. He thought if the crook was in his brain, instead of his back, he could not fairly be blamed for any consequences of this natural defect, whatever lawyers or divines might call it.'

This all doctors believe, and most laymen not bred

in Geneva reluctantly admit—reluctantly, because they know that to tell the drunken son of a drunken father he is not responsible for his weakness is to become an advocate of the devil and a destroyer of mankind. Holmes himself felt this, and warned his readers not to abuse the doctrine by ascribing all their sins to their grandfathers. He did not deny the sovereignty of the conscience where it was active and healthy; but he knew that in a great many cases the human will was ‘tied up and darkened by inferior organization, by disease, and by all sorts of crowding interferences.’ No doubt he insisted too much on these limitations; but being a doctor, he could not help seeing that sin bears a strong likeness to disease, and that the sinner, like the sick patient, is not always responsible for the disturbance. At any rate he showed, what some theologians are only just discovering, that ‘sin is in the will,’ and that where the will is weak and puny it needs food and medicine, not hell-fire and damnation. Instead of the devil’s blast-furnace and lethal chamber, he wished to set up a dispensary and a school.

All this, of course, occurs incidentally in ‘Elsie Venner’ and ‘The Guardian Angel,’ and is appropriately put into the mouths of old Dr. Kittredge, Elsie’s physician, the Rev. Dr. Honeywood, and Byles Gridley, A.M., author of ‘Thoughts on the Universe.’ The real interest of the stories is human and not theological. If Holmes had not made his heroes and heroines beautiful and loveable, and their trials many and real, his books would have been dropped in Time’s waste-paper

basket, as Gifted Hopkin's poems were dropped by the publisher's 'butcher.' As it is, he has been accused by the critics of caricaturing the Yankee characters, and overdrawing the satirical pictures of New England country life. Certainly he seems to come perilously near caricature in Colonel Sprowle, Silas Peckham, and the Rev. Joseph Bellamy Stoker; but doubtless such persons lived then as now, and it is a pardonable offence in an author to pillory them when he finds them.

In his purely biographical work, however, Dr. Holmes was as painstaking and impartial a recorder as the best; and though he had no great talent for this kind of writing he acquitted himself well, as he was bound to do. His *Lives of John Lothrop Motley and Ralph Waldo Emerson* are admirable if not finished studies of two of America's greatest writers.

Of the brilliant historian of the Dutch Republic he knew a great deal. They were fellow-students at Harvard, and corresponded with each other during Motley's absence in Europe as the Ambassador of America, and after his shameful recall from Vienna. When, therefore, he was asked to write a memoir of Motley for the Massachusetts Historical Society, he came forward as the late Ambassador's apologist and defender; and though he was a devoted citizen of the Republic, he did not hesitate to condemn, in the strongest terms he could command, a government that could insult its minister—and that minister one of the most distinguished of its great men, and one of the most confirmed believers in its institutions—by asking him to

refute the charges of a pseudonymous spy. But this was not all. Three years after the Vienna affair, Motley was recalled from the London Embassy by President Grant, ostensibly for misrepresenting his Government on the Alabama question, but really for supporting one of the President's political opponents. As Motley's confidant, Dr. Holmes exposed the whole pitiful business, bitterly lamenting that the accredited representative of a people should be sacrificed to the hatred of a political sect. To him the affair seemed monstrously unjust; and he firmly believed that Motley's untimely death was accelerated by the President's undignified and unchivalrous conduct.

Happily he had no such painful task to perform in writing his 'Life of Emerson.' The Concord sage never aspired to ambassadorial rank, and consequently never had an enemy; and if he had so aspired, there is no doubt he would soon have resigned any local or national position for the more important one of God's ambassador to the world. For such Emerson was, and as such Dr. Holmes reports him in his monograph. 'Every human soul,' he says, 'leaves its port with sealed orders.' That Emerson's 'sealed orders' instructed him to be a mystic, an optimist, a lover of the truth, 'a gentle iconoclast,' a hater of cant and hypocrisy, a believer in personalities—whole men, not fragments of men—he has no difficulty in showing, and does not stop to discuss. Emerson, according to the Doctor, expounded no consistent system of philosophy like Kant, Hegel,

or Spencer; but studied how to 'free, arouse, dilate.' When he has said this Holmes has finished. He is not so much an apostle of Emerson as a catechist—a Silas, not a Paul. 'He presented,' says Mr. Stedman, 'with singular clearness and with an epigrammatic genius at white heat, if not the esoteric view of the Concord Plotinus, at least what could enable an audience to get at the mould of that serene teacher, and make some fortunate surmise of the spirit that ennobled it.' Nor was he very critical of Emerson's writings. He recognised his mysticism, and if he did not always agree with it, he took care to show that it was more intellectual than emotional. 'Emerson,' he says, 'never let go the string of his balloon,' except in the poem of 'Brahma' which he pronounces 'the nearest approach to a Torricellian vacuum of intelligibility' he knows. He is not so lenient, however, with the minor Transcendentalists, calling them a 'Noah's ark full of idealists,' and pointing out that there was occasionally an air of bravado in some of them 'as if they had taken out a patent for some knowing machine which was to give them a monopoly of its products.' We have all met these amateur philosophers and self-advertised initiates of Heaven, and can smile at the witty Doctor's satire, knowing that no patent Absolutometer will ever register the multitudinous thoughts of God. Emerson himself, the Doctor tells us, made no such oracular claims as his disciples, but was content to diffuse that 'genial atmosphere' and odour of piety which flowed into him from above.

Here, I think, we may pause. Having reviewed Holmes's chief writings, in the order in which they naturally fall, we can go on to discuss their style, and to estimate their influence on American life and letters.

Omitting his poems, which have been dealt with in the first part of this paper, we come to his prose. With regard to this, Time, I think, has confirmed the opinion of Holmes's contemporaries in adjudging 'The Autocrat at the Breakfast Table' and its two successors his best and most characteristic work. There is nothing in his later works that is not contained in these; hence all criticism of his style must necessarily be a criticism of these. And what a style it is!—racy and fluid as Addison's conversational prose, and splendid with some of the colour—though with little of the pomp—of Sir Thomas Browne! It is not invariable; but at its best it is extraordinarily brilliant, scintillating with imagination and jewelled thought. The fact is, whether discussing poetry or Puritanism, pun-making or divinity, phrenology or the Great Secret, Holmes's prose spurts up like a fountain, so to speak, breaking into a shower of gleaming amethysts, rubies, emeralds, and pearls. Here, as elsewhere, one cannot help noticing his tenderness and grave wit; the felicity and propriety of his similes, metaphors, and apologues; and his natural aptitude for turning epigrams and proverbs. Of his beautiful and apposite similes there is to my mind, no finer specimen than that in which he describes the super-abundant wealth of the poet. I give it here because it illustrates better than anything

else I know the Doctor's habit of loading every rift with ore:

'Life is so vivid to the poet, that he is too eager to seize and exhaust its multitudinous impressions. Like Sinbad in the valley of precious stones, he wants to fill his pockets with diamonds, but, lo! there is a great ruby like a setting sun in its glory, like Bryant's blue gentian, seems to have dropped from the cerulean walls of heaven, and a nest of pearls that look as if they might be unhatched angels' eggs, and so he hardly knows what to seize, and tries for too many, and comes out of the enchanted valley with more gems than he can carry, and those that he lets fall by the wayside we call his poems.'

It is not as a clever writer of *vers de société*, or as a vivacious retailer of after-dinner oratory,—that Holmes will come to be valued, though these things will always attract the majority of readers—but as a New England prophet of 'sweetness and light.'

We have seen that under Calvinism religion in Massachusetts had become as hard, unlovely, and illiberal as the Inquisition itself. Discussion was forbidden, and all scientific study of Scripture savagely condemned. Like Canute, to quote Lowell on Theodore Parker, the orthodox bore

'With sincerest conviction their chairs to the shore;
They brandished their worn theological birches,
Bade natural progress keep out of the Churches,
And expected the lines they had drawn to prevail,
With the fast rising tide to keep out of their pale;
They had formerly damned the Pontifical See,
And the same thing, they thought, would do nicely for P.'

Holmes in calling for the Americanizing of religion

was only doing what had already been done at the Reformation and the Revolution by the fathers of those who anathematized him. His demands, no doubt, seemed heretical and subversive to them; but they were essentially national and republican, and were bound to prevail in the end. Just as the people of the United States had demanded liberty to make their own laws and impose their own taxes, he demanded freedom to think his own thoughts, and worship in his own way. Having won this right for himself, he proceeded to cut off the excrescences, and to excise the morbid growths of religion as if he were at work in his surgery. As a doctor he saw that theology needed its epidermis to be cleaned of superstition and lichenized dogma, and as a man that it wanted 'de-diabolizing.' In the one operation he used the strigil of his keen intellect and caustic wit, and in the other he injected some of his own rich heart-blood and generous heat. That theology needed humanizing no one who has read the lurid and pitiless sermons of Jonathan Edwards will deny. Not content with cursing the wicked and the unconverted, he damned the souls of innocent children, showing immeasurably less mercy to the unbaptized than even that 'stern Tuscan,' Dante. Driven by the terrible logic of his creed, Edwards saw in God a beast with bloody maw, not the merciful Father of us all. Holmes showed that this conception of God was an obsession of the logical intellect, and was at bottom as barbarous as that held by the dragon-worshipping Chinese. Religion to him was primarily an affair of the heart—a thing of

sentiment and emotion. Professional theologians, equipped with the camera and the geologist's hammer, made prospecting expeditions into the Kingdom of God; Holmes went on a pilgrimage. He held that not by searching, but by yearning and agonizing, could men find their way into the holy place. The information that the searchers could give might be very necessary, but it was hardly what the soul desired. He knew that sentiment was the source of life and the director of conduct: and if he placed it before reason and will in his psychology of religion, he had the experience of the whole race of believers to justify him. This emotional attitude led him to say that 'the real religion of the world comes from women—from mothers most of all, who carry the key of our souls in their bosoms. It is in their hearts that the "sentimental" religion some people are so fond of sneering at, has its source.' Above the noisy disputations of Churches and Theologians he heard the ineffable words of Jesus, 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.'

This then was his purpose: like Luther he called upon men to think for themselves, knowing that the active mind of the century was tending more and more to the two poles, 'Rome or Reason, the sovereign Church or the free soul, authority or personality, God in us or God in our masters.' In the New Reformation which was then opening in America and Europe, and which is now moving slowly on to a consummation, he fought not with the heated dialectic of Luther,

but with the incisive wit and deep common-sense of Erasmus. Humaneness and truth, 'sweetness and light'—these qualities inspired his writings and guided his conduct; and if at any time there has been any progress made in the 'Liberation War of humanity,' it has been and will continue to be, by the virtue of these.

JAMES ORMEROD.

A PARIS BOOKSELLER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—GALLIOT DU PRÉ.



AMONG the sources of information available for the study of literary history, the annals of the press have a certain importance. They help us to realise for a given age what its literary tastes really were. They enable us to follow, year by year, the changes of fashion in literary taste. They recall the memories of books, now long forgotten, but which in their day enjoyed great popularity. It was doubtless the feeling that much may be learnt from a simple chronological record of the productions of the press that inspired Panzer, 'the one true naturalist among general bibliographers,' as Bradshaw calls him, to accomplish his great work, which covers the whole field of European literature from the invention of printing to the year 1536. The interest of Panzer's achievement, not only for the scientific bibliographer, but also for the student of literature, suggested to me that a record of the books of an individual publisher might serve to throw light on the literary history of his country during the period of his career. It might also, I hoped, furnish some material for the solution of one or two problems connected with the exercise of his profession.

With the object, then, of illustrating that interesting period in French literature when the Middle Ages were slowly and gradually dissolving into the light of the Renaissance, I selected the Paris bookseller and publisher, Galliot Du Pré, whose career extended from 1512 to 1560. He seemed to me to combine several advantages for my purpose. His career was a long one. He was not a printer, but a bookseller and publisher pure and simple, so that the inquiry would not involve me in the discussion of typographical problems, which are beyond my competence. Lastly, except for a decided bias in the direction of history, he was not a specialist. He did not confine himself to romances of chivalry, or books of Hours, or books with woodcuts. He did not, like the Estiennes and Simon de Colines, cater especially for scholars, nor like Jean Trepperel did he produce cheap and popular books for the lowest class of readers. His public was that of the better educated classes,—princes, nobles, and *bourgeois*, who were not humanists, and whose reading was chiefly confined to the national literature. This public, at any rate for the first half of his career, he carefully studied, adapting himself to their needs, and changing when they changed. But he had enterprise as well as judgment, and the publisher of the first edition of Commynes's 'Memoirs' and the 'Life of Bayard,' by *Le loyal Serviteur*, deserves the gratitude of posterity.

In one respect my choice proved to be a fortunate one, for soon after I had begun my investigations, I learned that M. Paul Delalain had some

years ago made Galliot Du Pré the subject of two notices, in which a considerable number of his publications were duly chronicled.¹ By consulting other means of information, I have been able to add to the books in M. Delalain's lists, and though my information, partly from the imperfection of my researches, partly because doubtless many of the less important works published by Galliot Du Pré have been entirely lost, does not pretend to be anything like complete, it is probably complete enough for my special purpose, that of throwing light on the literary tastes of the period.²

Galliot Du Pré was, as I have said, a publisher and bookseller, and not a printer. In the Middle Ages the *libraire* (*librarius*) or bookseller was, as a rule, the mere commission agent of the *écrivain* (*stationarius*) or copyist. The term *libraire*, how-

¹ 'Notice sur Galliot du Pré,' Paris, 1890, and 'Notice complémentaire sur Galliot du Pré,' *ib.* 1891.

² The following sale catalogues have been helpful: La Vallière, MacCarthy, Yemeniz, A. F. Didot (1878 and 1879), Sunderland, Renard, Seillière (London, 1887, and Paris, 1900), Turner, Lakelands, Ruble. A good many titles have been furnished by Panzer, and some, for the years after 1536, by Maittaire. In Quaritch's 'General Catalogue,' Vol. VI., a certain number of Du Pré's publications are recorded. Brunet, of course, has been of great help, and so has Van Praet, whose descriptions are sometimes fuller than Brunet's. Moreover, the second part of his work, which deals with other libraries than the Royal Library, is furnished with an index of printers and booksellers. As regards the books themselves, I have examined about thirty, either in the British Museum or in Cambridge libraries. For those in the far richer store of the 'Bibliothèque Nationale' I have had to be content with the descriptions in Van Praet, or in the catalogue, so far as it is printed.

ever, was used in common speech to denote the *écrivain*, as well as the *libraire* proper.¹ Both classes alike, together with the parchment-sellers (*parcheminiers*), illuminators (*enlumineurs*), and bookbinders (*relicieurs*) were officers of the University, and as such were subject to its jurisdiction, and enjoyed the same privileges as its masters and scholars. Before being appointed they had to give evidence of their qualification for the post, and to be sworn before the Rector of the University. Hence they were called *libraires jurés*. Out of their number four *grands libraires* were appointed, whose duty it was to fix the price of books, and to exercise a general supervision over their brethren.

The introduction of printing does not seem to have made much difference at first in the position of the booksellers. For the majority of the early printers, like the copyists before them, sold the books which they printed, either themselves or through the agency of some privileged bookseller. Nor were the copyists at once driven from the field. For some fifteen to twenty years after the introduction of the new art to Paris, they continued to produce richly illuminated manuscripts for wealthy patrons. Antoine Verard, originally a calligrapher and miniaturist by profession, following the examples set by Fichet and Heynlin, was the first publisher to realise that the illuminator's art might be adapted on a large scale to the new conditions. His famous *éditions de luxe*, printed on vellum and illustrated with woodcuts, which were

¹ 'Stationarii qui vulgo librarii appellantur' (University Statutes of 6th December, 1275).

illuminated by hand with greater richness than taste, cut severely into the trade of the ordinary copyist. Henceforth only Hours and Greek texts were multiplied by hand.

The decline of the copyists and the growing importance of the booksellers is shown by the royal edict of March, 1489. For while the number of *libraires jurés* was fixed at twenty-four, only two copyists, together with two illuminators and two bookbinders, were allowed to enjoy the privileges of the University. Save that in 1533 the eminent printer and engraver, Geofroy Tory, was by special favour admitted as a twenty-fifth,¹ the number of privileged booksellers remained at twenty-four. The non-privileged booksellers (*libraires non-jurés*) were, at the close of the fifteenth century, still subjected by the University to various restrictions. They might not sell books for more than a certain price, and they might only sell them at open stalls.

The majority of the early Parisian printers were, as we have seen, also booksellers, but as a natural result of the expansion of business, the two trades tended to become more and more distinct. There grew up an important class of men, who not being printers themselves, employed various presses in the production of books. In other words, they were publishers. Whether Verard was a printer at all is a question which experts have not decided, but in any case his main business was that of a bookseller and publisher. Of the brothers De Marnef, Simon Vostre, Guillaume Eustace and Denys Roce,

¹ A. Bernard, 'Geofroy Tory,' p. 372.

all of whom began to issue books before the close of the fifteenth century, it may be said with almost complete certainty that they were not printers. Jean Petit, who, during his long and useful career as a publisher (1495-1536), employed at least twenty-eight presses, never describes himself as a printer.

The rapid expansion of the book-trade in Paris, which followed the publication of the first French book, 'Les grandes chroniques de France,' by Pasquier Bonhomme, brought a golden harvest to the more successful publishers. Simon Vostre became, like Caxton, a man of substance, owning at his death (c. 1520) six houses. The chief printing and publishing establishments passed from father to son for several generations. Pasquier Bonhomme was succeeded by his son Jean I., his grandson Jean II., and his great-grandson Jean III., while his daughter Yolande, by her marriage with Thielman Kerver, became the ancestress of another line of distinguished printers and publishers. Jean Petit was the founder of a dynasty which flourished for more than a century. Of the two publishing houses which made a speciality of the more popular romances of chivalry and other favourite works in the vernacular, that of the Ecu de France, in the rue Neuve de Notre-Dame, was carried on by Jean Trepperel and his successors from the beginning till after the middle of the sixteenth century,¹ while the rival establishment at the sign of St. Nicholas, in the same street, after passing through the hands of Jean Saint-Denys (1525-31),

¹ H. HARRISSE, 'Excerpta Columbiniana,' pp. xli. ff.

his widow Claude, and Pierre Sergent, with whom was associated Vincent Sertenas, became the property of Sergent's son-in-law, Jean Bonfons, and remained in his family till well into the seventeenth century.¹

M. HARRISSE, to whom we owe our knowledge of the chronological succession of these two houses, has pointed out that an important part was often played by widows in the transmission of a printing and bookselling business. It was a tradition, he says, down to the Revolution, that the widows of printers and booksellers should succeed to their husbands' business, even when their sons had already attained their majority, and he adds that 'they acquitted themselves in their task with the zeal and intelligence which has always been characteristic of Parisian wives of men of business.'² The most illustrious female printer of the sixteenth century was Charlotte Guillard, the wife, first of Bertholdt Remboldt, and then of Claude Chevallon. She exercised her trade for fifty-four years (1502-56), during sixteen of which she was a widow. It was not uncommon for the widow of a printer or bookseller to take a second husband of the same profession. Thus Guyonne Viart, after the death of her first husband, Jean Higman, married successively Henri Estienne and Simon de Colines. She had no children by her third husband, but by her first she became the ancestress of three well-known families of booksellers and printers, Chaudière, Cavellat, and Macé, while by her

¹ H. HARRISSE, 'Excerpta Columbiniana,' pp. lxi. ff.

² *Ib.*, p. 300.

second she became the mother of the most distinguished of French sixteenth-century printers, Robert Estienne.¹ Robert Estienne himself married Perrette, the daughter of the well-known scholar and printer, Josse Bade, two of whose other daughters were married to men of high distinction in the same profession, Jean de Roigny and Michel de Vascosan.

With these preliminary observations I will proceed to give an account in chronological order of Galliot Du Pré's publications. He began his career, so far as we know, in the year 1512,² publishing in that year two Latin works. One of these—an Eutropius with the continuation by Paulus Diaconus—I have not seen.³ There is a copy of the other in the Cambridge University Library, and as except for a reference in Panzer to a copy in the 'Bibliotheca Telleriana' this is the only mention of it that I have come across, I will give its title in full. It runs as follows: 'Johannis Surgeti nationis galli Suessionensis diocesis in legibus licentiatii militaris discipline Enchiridion in quo varie iuris materie et peregrine questiones continentur, cuius finis est pacis persuasio inter principes christianos et belli exhortatio in saracenos et infideles hostes religionis catholice.' Below the title is the mark of Jean Petit, and his address alone appears on the title-

¹ Ph. Renouard, 'Documents sur les Imprimeurs,' pp. 128-30.

² He was no relation of Jean Du Pré, whose real name M. Renouard has discovered to be Larcher.

³ Delalain, 'Notice Compl. (from Cat. E. Piot). It is printed by Gilles de Gourmont.

page, but in the colophon we learn that Galliot Du Pré shared in the expense of publication and that the work was for sale at the 'Golden Lily' (the sign of Jean Petit) and 'at the second pillar of the hall of the Palace, at the shop of the said Galliot Du Pré.' The book is undated, but as the privilege is of 6th April, 1511 (*i.e.* 151 $\frac{1}{2}$) it may be presumed that the book, being a small one, appeared not long after this, especially as Jean de Ganaye, the Chancellor of France, to whom it is dedicated, died before June, 1512.¹

It was a common practice with the book-sellers of this period to have, in addition to their regular places of business where they lived, open stalls or lean-to's, either inside or outside the Palais de Justice. Those inside were placed either in one of the corridors or galleries leading from one part of the building to another, where they vied in attraction with the stalls of the mercers and the drapers,² or on the steps which led up to the Great Hall, or in the Hall itself by the pillars which supported its two huge vaults.³ There were eight of these, but, as a rule, only the first three were occupied by book-stalls, two at each

¹ Finding that Archbishop Le Tellier bequeathed all his books to the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, I thought that the copy of this work mentioned by Panzer might be in the library of Sainte-Geneviève. But the director, M. Kohler, informs me that though it is mentioned in a manuscript catalogue of about 1752, it is no longer in the catalogue drawn up about 1800, and that he can find no trace of it.

² See Corneille's 'La Galerie du Palais,' especially Act I., Scs. 4-7.

³ See 'Paris à travers les âges,' I., 16, with a contemporary illustration (p. 7).

pillar. Sometimes the same bookseller had a stall at two pillars, and at the close of the sixteenth century we find Nicolas Bonfons, the head of the well-known house 'At the Sign of Saint Nicholas,' established not only at all the first three pillars but at the fourth as well.¹

I have found no publication of Galliot Du Pré for the year 1513, but in 1514 he issued four works of considerable size and importance; the 'Grand Coustumier de France,' and 'Les grandes chroniques,' both of these being first editions; 'Les grandes chroniques de Bretagne,' by Alain Bouchard,² a work of considerable popularity and of some value for the later history; and Montjoye's 'Le pas des armes.' This last is an account by the chief herald of the jousts held on the occasion of the marriage of Louis XII. with Mary of England. The printing was finished on 24th December, just a week before the King's death.³

'Les grandes chroniques'⁴ is a translation, with additions, by Pierre Desrey of the well-known 'Compendium super Francorum gestis' of Robert Gaguin. Based, like the longer work of Nicole Gilles, on the great collection of chronicles at Saint-Denis, it shared its popularity throughout at least the first half of the sixteenth century. It was published by Du Pré in conjunction

¹ Renouard, 'Imprimeurs parisiens,' pp. 401-2.

² With woodcuts, Cat. of 'Bib. Nat.'; 'Bibl. Sund.,' I., No. 1854; Quaritch, 'General Catalogue,' VI., p. 3792.

³ Delalain, 'Notice compl.'; Brunet, s. v. 'Entrée.'

⁴ Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Van Praet, 2nd part, III., No. 95.

with 'Poncet Le Preux,' one of the four '*grands libraires jurés*,' whose device appears on the title-page. The publication was evidently a success, for in the following year they issued a new edition.¹

It was doubtless the result of these publications which on 16th May, 1515, led Galliot Du Pré to take the step of renting a house on the Pont Notre-Dame.² This new bridge, connecting the island of the *Cité* with the north bank of the Seine, had been completed in 1506, to take the place of the old one which had collapsed in 1499. At this period there were two districts of Paris to which the booksellers and printers were in practice, though not legally, confined,—the neighbourhood of Notre-Dame in the *Cité* and the quarter of the University. The latter district, the limits of which are roughly marked by the Church of Saint Severin, the Place Maubert, the Pantheon and the Place de la Sorbonne, was considerably the larger. The printers and booksellers were here conveniently situated under the eye of the University, whose colleges spread over the whole district. The principal street was the rue Saint-Jacques, which extended from the Petit Pont to the Porte Saint-Jacques, a distance of rather more than half a mile. In its middle portion every house was occupied by booksellers, and those of kindred professions. M. Renouard has counted over a hundred and sixty establishments occupying some eighty houses. They greatly varied

¹ Van Praet, *ib.*, No. 96.

² Renouard, 'Documents sur les Imprimeurs,' p. 81.

in size, from that of Jean Petit, who occupied two whole houses, the Silver Lion and the Golden Fleur-de-Lys, to the small establishments in different stories of the same house. Other booksellers' streets in this quarter were the rue des Carmes, the rue du Mont Saint-Hilaire, the rue Saint-Jean de Beauvais, and the rue Saint-Jean de Latran.

The other booksellers' district consisted of a few streets in the immediate neighbourhood of Notre-Dame, the chief being the rue du Marché-Palu (the continuation of the rue Saint-Jacques across the Petit Pont) with its continuation the rue de la Juiverie, and the rue Neuve Notre-Dame, which ran from the Marché-Palu to the Parvis Notre-Dame. This quarter was chiefly occupied by those who specialised in religious books, particularly Books of Hours, in romances of chivalry, or in cheap popular works.¹ As we shall see, Galliot Du Pré did not belong to any of these classes, certainly not to the first.

As is well known, houses in those days were distinguished not by numbers, but by signs. On a change of occupation, the old sign was generally retained, but sometimes the new occupier introduced a new one. Thus Galliot Du Pré, by way of a play upon his name, took for his sign a galley. He does not appear to have used his new abode as a shop, for throughout his career his books are offered for sale only at one of the pillars in the hall of the Palais de Justice.

In 1516, the year after his instalment in the

¹ Renouard, 'Imprimeurs Parisiens,' p. xii.

house on the Pont Notre-Dame, he published a new edition of the 'Grand Coustumier,'¹ and the *editio princeps* of the Latin version of the 'Songe du Verdier,' under the title of 'Aureus (de utraque potestate temporali et spirituali) libellus ad hunc usque diem non vivus. Somnium viridarii vulgariter nuncupatus.'² It was edited by Gilles d'Aurigny of Beauvais, a young licentiate of law, who thirty years later published a volume of poetry of some merit, entitled 'Tuteur d'Amour. In this year, too, Galliot Du Pré shared with two other booksellers in the publication of the first edition of the romance of 'Saint Graal.'³

His productions for the year 1517 were 'Mirouer historial,' a compilation from various authors,⁴ and a work by that worthy lawyer and pedestrian poet, Jean Bouchet, entitled 'Temple de bonne renommée.'⁵ It was a panegyric in verse on Charles de La Tremoille, who had been mortally wounded at Marignano. Another volume published by Du Pré in the same year contains three pieces by Bouchet, 'L'instruction du jeune prince,' in prose,

¹ 28th March (after Easter).

² British Museum.

³ Quaritch, 'General Catalogue,' VI., p. 3781. On the title-page the book is said to be on sale by Philippe Le Noir (son of Michel Le Noir), and in the colophon it is said to be printed by (*par*) Jean Petit, Galliot Du Pré, and Michel Le Noir. Neither Petit nor Du Pré was a printer, and the statement, as in the case of Verard, Vostre, and others, only implies that they shared in the expense. I have not seen the book, but probably it was printed by Michel Le Noir.

⁴ February, 1516 (probably 1514).

⁵ 2nd January, 1514 (the privilege is dated 10th January, 1514). E. Picot, 'Cat. Rothschild,' I., No. 505.

'Le Chapelet des Princes,' composed of fifty *rondeaux* and five *ballades* addressed to the same Charles de La Tremoille, and an Epistle in verse purporting to be written by the widow of Louis XII. to her brother, Henry VIII. The first piece in the volume is a prose work by Georges Chastelain, entitled 'Le temple de Jehan Boccace.'¹

Another work must almost certainly be assigned to this year, namely the French translation by Mathurin Du Redouer, licentiate of law, of the 'Paesi novamente ritrovati e Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulato,' that first collection of voyages, edited by Fracanzio da Montalboddo, which had been published at Vicenza in 1507. There is no date to the book, but as the privilege is dated 10th January, 15¹⁶₁₇, and the book has only 132 leaves of text, the presumption is that it was published at any rate before the end of the year. It is entitled 'Le nouveau Monde et Navigations faites par Emeric de Vespuce Florentin,' and thus gives even greater prominence to the name of Vespucci than the original does.²

¹ Picot, I., No. 506.

² There was a copy in the Didot library (Catalogue of 1881, No. 472). See also 'Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicata dalla Commissione Columbiana,' VI., 154-5. In Quaritch's 'General Catalogue,' VI., 3793, it is claimed that this is the first edition of the French translation on the ground first, that it has a privilege, and secondly, that it has in Vespucci's third voyage three diagrams of southern constellations which are wanting in the other early editions. This is, doubtless, a just claim. The only two editions that could possibly be earlier both bear the name and mark of the *Ecu de France*. One of these has also the sign of Jehan Janot, and was printed by him. It therefore belongs to the period, 1512-22, during which he was associated with his mother-in-law, the widow

Finally in this year Galliot Du Pré completed the first half of the most important work, from the point of view of size, that he had yet taken in hand. This was the publication in four volumes of 'La mer des histoires et croniques de France.' The printing of the first volume was finished on 31st October, 1517, and that of the second on 29th October, 1517, the printer of both being Michel Le Noir.¹ They probably were published together as soon as they were both ready. The third volume has the mark of Jean Petit, and we learn from the imprint of the fourth volume that it was finished on 10th March, 1518.² I should conjecture that Jean Petit made himself responsible for the two latter volumes, but without having seen the book it is impossible to form a definite opinion. As regards the work itself it begins with two books (I. pp. 1-270) compiled from 'La mer des histoires' and the rest is taken from 'Les grandes croniques.'

In the year 1518 Galliot Du Pré published a translation of 'Apuleius' by Guillaume Michel of Tours, an industrious poet and translator of the *grand rhétoriqueur* school,³ and the 'De institutione reipublicae libri novem' of Francesco Patrizzi.⁴ of Jean Trepperel. The other, which has no printer's name, but only the mark and name of the *Ecu de France*, is in the same type, but the type is thicker and less clear, and the capitals are less elaborate. For an account of the original Italian work see 'The Modern Language Review' for July, 1907.

¹ HARRISSE, 'Exc. Colomb.', pp. xiii.-xiv.

² VAN PRAET, 2nd part, III., No. 16.

³ 'Cat. La Vallière,' II., No. 3842. For a specimen of Michel's prose style see Viollet Le Duc, 'Bibliothèque poétique,' p. 153.

⁴ Cambridge University Library.

This was followed in 1519 by the publication of the same writer's 'Enneas de regno et regis institutione' and in 1520 by that of a French translation of his former work under the title of 'Livre tres fructueux et utile a toute personne de l'institution et administration de la chose publicque.'¹ The author was banished from his native city of Siena in 1457, and in 1460 was made Bishop of Gaeta in the kingdom of Naples, where he died in 1494. His two works continued in repute throughout the sixteenth century. Elyot's 'Governour' owes much to the 'De regno,' and it was edited in 1567 by the well-known scholar Denys Lambin. In 1519 Galliot Du Pré also published a French translation, by Pierre Desrey, of Platina's 'Lives of the Popes.'²

From the title-page of the 'Livre tres fructueux' we learn that Du Pré had transferred his stall from the second to the third pillar of the Great Hall of the Palais de Justice. Another publication of the year 1520 is a French version of the 'Moriae Encomium,' probably the garbled one by Georges Haloin of which Erasmus complains in one of his letters.³ In February, 1521, appeared a translation of 'Suetonius,' by Guillaume Michel,⁴ from which we learn that Galliot Du Pré had been appointed one of the *libraires jurés*. At the following midsummer he renewed the

¹ 30th April.

² 'Généalogies faits et gestes des saints pères Papes' (British Museum; Van Praet, V., No. 23). It is ascribed to Desrey by Du Verdier.

³ 'Opera,' III., 275.

⁴ 16th February, 1520. Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'

lease of his house on the Pont Notre-Dame, but in September of the next year (1522) he moved to the rue des Marmouzets, a short street which ran from the rue de la Juiverie (now the rue de la Cité) to the archway leading into the cloister of Notre-Dame. His house is described as being near to the Church of La Madeleine, which was in the rue de la Juiverie.¹ According to M. Renouard's list of addresses, he was the only bookseller in the street, for Gilles Corrozet did not go there till after Du Pré's death, and Jean de La Garde, who was burnt in April, 1538, for having bought some heretical books from Jean Morin, the printer of the 'Cymbalum Mundi,'² had left it in 1512. Du Pré transferred his old sign of a galley to his new abode.

In February of the following year (1523) he issued an *Epitome* in French of Budé's 'De Asse,' a little book with 79 leaves of text and about 170 words to a page. It is printed in Roman type by Pierre Vidoue.³ To the year 1523 also may be assigned the *editio princeps* of 'Ysaie le triste,'⁴ a late fifteenth century prose romance which relates the fortunes of the son of Tristan and Yseult of Cornwall. The book is undated, but as the privilege was granted in November,

¹ See G. Corrozet, 'La fleur des antiquités de Paris,' ed. P. Lacroix, 1874, pp. 103 and 105, and the map of Paris by Truschet and Hoyau (1552), part of which is reproduced by M. Delalain, 'Notice Compl.,' p. 9.

² See Herminjard, 'Correspondance des réformateurs,' IV., 418-20.

³ British Museum.

⁴ Delalain, 'Notice compl.' (Cat. Techener, 1886, No. 465). Panzer assigns it to 1522.

1522, it doubtless appeared in the course of the following year.

Du Pré now changed his stall for the second time, moving to the first pillar, and it was here that he offered for sale in March, 1524,¹ a translation of Petrarch's Latin treatise '*De remediis utriusque fortunæ*.' In the dedicatory epistle addressed to Charles, Duc de Vendôme, he attributes the translation to Nicolas Oresme, the well-known translator, through Latin versions, of the '*Ethics*' and '*Politics*' of Aristotle. But M. Léopold Delisle has shewn that it is really the work of Jean Daudin, a canon of the Sainte-Chapelle.² The preface, it may be noted, is written in the latinised style, with its lumbering sentences and redundant vocabulary, of the average writer of the sixteenth century. It is the style of the *grand rhétoriciens* without their worst affectations. In another preface to one of Galliot Du Pré's books, that to Meliadus (1528), the style is much simpler. It is possible that he did not write his own prefaces.

Towards the close of the year 1524, Du Pré published a greatly enlarged edition of André Tiraqueau's '*De legibus connubialibus*,'³ in the preparation of which the author was in all likelihood

¹ 15th March, 1523, *avant Pasques*. The privilege is dated 23rd March, 1524, *avant Pasques*, the 4 being evidently a misprint for 2.

² '*Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*.' XXXIII., pp. 273 ff.

³ Printed in Roman type by Pierre Vidoue, the printing being finished 30th November, 1524. Cambridge University Library. For

assisted by his friend Rabelais. In its new form the book had a remarkable success.

But Du Pré's most noteworthy publication during the year 1524 was the first edition of the '*Cronique et histoire*' of Philippe de Commynes. The date of the privilege is 3rd February, 1524, and the printing was finished on 26th April.¹ It was followed by a new edition in September,² by a third in the following September (1525), and by a fourth and fifth in January and February, 1526. All these editions contain only six books, relating to the reign of Louis XI. The last two books, which Commynes probably wrote during his retirement at Argenton (1498-1511), and which deal with the Italian expedition of Charles VIII. (1494-5), were not printed till 1528. Du Pré published editions of the complete work in 1546 and 1552,³ both in association with Jean de Roigny. He began another in 1560, but he did not live to see it completed, and it appeared, after his death, in 1561.

The most extensive work published by Du Pré in 1525 was '*Les très élégantes très véridiques et et copieuses annales*,' of Nicole Gilles in two folio volumes, a work which, as I have said, became equally popular with Desrey's translation of Gaguin's '*Compendium*.' Du Pré republished it no less than

the book itself see J. Barat in '*Revue des études rabelaisiennes*,' III., 158 ff., 253 ff. The second edition (1515) contained only 33 leaves, the new one 276.

¹ The date of the first edition is sometimes wrongly given as 1523.

² British Museum.

³ Library of King's College, Cambridge. This and the next were edited by Denis Sauvage.

four times. The edition of 1525 is the oldest that exists, but the statement in the title that the chronicles have been carried down to 1520 would seem to imply an edition of that year. Lelong mentions editions of 1492 and 1498, but Brunet supposes these to be different works. To the year 1525 belongs also 'La Catalogue des Saints et Saintes traduit du Latin de Pierre des Natales par Guy Breslay.' 2 vols.¹ Guy Breslay was a jurist and humanist of considerable distinction, who became President of the Great Council. The *editio princeps* of the prose romance of 'Mabrian' is assigned in the Didot catalogue to 1525,² but as the privilege is dated 8th November of that year, it probably did not appear till 1526. It is a fifteenth century continuation of 'Maugis d'Augrement,' which was not printed till 1527.

Early in 1526 Du Pré brought out a volume containing works by Chastelain, Molinet, and Cretin, the three successive chiefs of the *rhétoriqueur* school, and by Jean Le Maire de Belges, the nephew and disciple of Molinet. They are all in verse except Chastelain's 'Epitaphes de Hector et Achilles,' which is partly in prose and partly in verse.³ The volume opens with 'Trois contes intitulés de Cupido et Atropos, traduits de l'italien de Seraphin, le second et tiers de l'invention de Jean Le Maire.' As a matter of fact, the first of

¹ 3rd March, 1524 (*avant Pasques*). See Van Praet, 2nd part, III., No. 26.

² 1878, No. 563.

³ Picot, 'Cat. Rothschild,' I., No. 487. The edition mentioned by Panzer under the date of 1521 is clearly the same as this.

these is not a translation from Serafino da Aquila, but an original poem founded on one of his sonnets. It is written, it may be noticed, in *terza rima*. The second *conte* is a continuation of the same story, while the third is not by Jean Le Maire.¹ Serafino of Aquila, who died young in 1500, had a great contemporary reputation, especially for his *strambotti*, short poems full of conceits and extravagance, which he used to sing to the accompaniment of his lute. A performance which he gave before Charles VIII. at Milan favourably impressed the French courtiers who were present, and he had a great reputation in France. Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, *Filelfo*, *Serafino*, these, according to Jean Le Maire, were the writers whom Italy could match against Jean de Meung, Froissart, Chartier, Meschinot, the two Grebans, Millet, Molinet, Chastelain, and others 'whose memory is, and long will be on the lips of men, without mentioning those who are still living and flourishing, of whom Master Guillaume Cretin is the prince.'² Serafino's reputation survived throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, and his poetry had a certain influence in France. There are traces of it in Marot and Saint-Gelais's poems, but the poet whom it most affected was Maurice Scève.³

Du Pré also published in 1526 works by two other writers in Jean Le Maire's list, 'Les faictz et dictz,' of Alain Chartier, and the 'Roman de la

¹ A. Becker, 'Jean Lemaire.' Strasburg, 1893, pp. 254 ff.

² Prologue to 'La concorde des deux langages.'

³ See J. Vianey, 'L'influence italienne chez les précurseurs de la Pléiade' in the 'Bulletin italien,' III., 85 ff.

Rose,' the latter edited and rejuvenated by Clement Marot.¹ One other publication belongs to the year 1526, 'La prison d'amours,' a translation of Diego de San Pedro's sentimental love-story, 'Carcel de Amor,' which attained considerable popularity in France.²

For the year 1527 I have seven publications to notice, a reprint of Nicole Gilles, and six new works: (1) 'Rondeaux au nombre de trois cent cinquante, singuliers et à tout propos,' of which the authorship has been attributed to Gringore;³ (2) 'Dialogue tres elegant intitule Le Peregrin,' a translation by François Dassy of Caviceo's 'Libro del peregrino,' a prolix love-story first printed at Parma in 1508;⁴ (3) The 'Celestina,' a translation through the Italian of the famous Spanish play of 'Calisto y Melibea';⁵ (4) 'The Life of Bayard,' by the anonymous secretary who calls himself *le loyal Serviteur*;⁶ (5) 'Chantz royaulx oraisons et aultres petits traiçtez,' by Guillaume Cretin. This last representative of the *rhétoriqueur* school, whom Clément Marot addressed as *Souverain poète françois*,

¹ Undated, but the privilege is of 19th April, 1526. British Museum. Petit's name appears on the title-page of some copies ('Cat. Didot,' 1878, No. 131).

² 6th March, 1526. This privilege is dated 8th May, 1525. See Picot, II., No. 6747.

³ Picot, II., No. 1744; 'Lakelands Cat.,' No. 651.

⁴ Delalain, 'Notice Compl., p. 24; 'Crawford Cat.,' No. 272. This is the oldest known edition, but M. Roman, the modern editor of the work, thinks that there was an earlier one published in 1524, the year of Bayard's death.

⁵ In one of the two copies in the Seillière collection ('Cat. Seillière,' Paris, 1890, Nos. 597 and 598), the words *translate dytalien en françois* are omitted on the title-page.

and Geofroy Tory compared with Homer, Virgil, and Dante, had died some time between 1523 and February, 1526, for in the volume of that date mentioned above he is already described as 'feu Cretin.' This posthumous edition of his poetry was edited by his friend, François Charbonnier, Vicomte d'Arques, and dedicated by him to Margaret of Navarre. The Didot copy was the one which the editor presented to Margaret, and which she, perhaps not appreciating Cretin's poetry, handed on to her secretary, the poet, Victor Brodeau.¹ The sixth is of a very different character, namely, a narrative by Nicolas de Volcyre of the brutal slaughter of the peasants in Lorraine by the troops of Duke Anthony. The title is instructive, for it runs, 'L'histoire et reueil de triumpante et glorieuse victoire obtenue contre les seduycts et abusez lutheriens mescreans de pays Daulsays et autres,' etc.,² and thus confirms Mr. A. F. Pollard's statement that the Duke 'regarded the suppression of the revolt in the light of a crusade against Luther.'³ The book is adorned with seven woodcuts.

Du Pré began the year 1528 with the publication of a new work by Pierre Gringore, entitled 'Notables enseignemens adages et proverbes faitz et composez par Pierre Gringore dit Vauldemont herault darmes de hault et puissant seigneur mon-

¹ 'Cat. Didot,' 1878, No. 176.

² The privilege is dated 12th January, 1526. Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'; Van Praet, V., 30; Bernard, 'Geofroy Tory,' p. 244.

³ 'Cambridge Modern History,' II., 195.

sieur le duc de Lorraine.'¹ It is written in eight-lined stanzas. Early in the reign of Francis I., Gringore had retired to the court of Lorraine, where instead of satirical plays he produced courtly and religious poetry for his highly orthodox master, Duke Anthony. His office of herald was nearly fatal to him in the Peasants' War, for on being sent to the invaders with articles of capitulation they fired at him and killed his trumpeter. In a wood-cut which adorns Du Pré's edition he is represented as offering his book to Francis I. The publication was a success, for within a year Du Pré issued another and more complete edition.²

The year 1528 was a prolific one with Du Pré. To begin with, he issued three romances of chivalry; one of them a work of considerable size. The first to appear was 'La conquête de grèce. Faicte par le tres preux et redoubté en cheualerie Philippe de madien Aultrement dit le chevalier a lesparvier blanc.'³ It is a fifteenth century version of the original romance, now lost, by Perrinet Du Pin. It was succeeded by 'Perceforest,' in six volumes (28th May), and by 'Meliadus de Leonnoys' (30th November), both printed by Nicolas Couteau.⁴

¹ 1st February, 1527. A privilege dated 15th November, 1527, was granted to Gringore (see Picot, I., No. 500); 'Cat. Didot' (1878), No. 192; Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'; A. Bernard, 'Geofroy Tory' (2nd ed., 1865), p. 255.

² 26th January, 1527.

³ 8th February, 1527 (privilege of 4th February, 1527). It is printed by Jacques Nyverd. There is a good wood-cut on the title-page. British Museum.

⁴ The privilege for 'Perceforest' is dated 10th March, 1527, and that for 'Meliadus,' 5th March, 1527. In 'Meliadus' the

'Perceforest' had been refashioned in the middle of the fifteenth century by Daniel Aubert, librarian to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, from an older fourteenth century romance in prose. M. Hugues Vaganay has recently reproduced for private circulation the first chapters with a facsimile of the title-page of Du Pré's edition. 'Meliadus' represents the first half, as 'Giron le Courtois' represents the second, of the poetical romance of 'Palamède' as abridged by Rusticien of Pisa.¹

Two more works remain to be mentioned for the year 1528. One is 'Les lunettes des princes. Ensemble plusieurs additions et ballades par noble homme Jean Meschinot.'² The author, a native of Nantes, died in 1509, after sixty years' service as *maître d'hôtel* to the Dukes of Brittany and their last representative, Anne of Brittany. His chief poem 'Les lunettes des princes', first published at Nantes in 1493, was extremely popular and went through at least fifteen editions in the course of the next twelve years. After 1505 no more editions, or at most only one, were published till about 1520, when a new one appeared, followed by at least eight others between that date and 1540. The other work is Octovien de Saint-Gelais's translation of Ovid's 'Epistles.'³ In the next

printer's name is not given, but the type is the same as that used for 'Perceforest.' There are copies of both in the British Museum.

¹ Ward, 'Catalogue of Romances,' I., 364-9.

² 'Cat. Didot,' 1878, No. 160.

³ 'Cat. Yemeniz,' No. 1495; Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'

year Du Pré published the same writer's translation of the 'Aeneid' in a volume with Guillaume Michel's version of the 'Eclogues' and 'Georgics.'

His most noteworthy publication for 1529 was Guevara's 'Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio,'¹ a reprint of the unauthorised edition which had been surreptitiously published at Seville in 1529. It was by no means the only Spanish book published in France at this period. The 'Celestina,' the poems of Boscan and Garcilaso de la Vega, and other works, were all printed either at Paris or Lyons in their original tongue. The question naturally arises, were they intended for the home or the Spanish market? Probably for the latter, as the number of Frenchmen at this period who understood Spanish must have been small. We have parallel cases on a larger scale in the Service books which the French printers and booksellers produced both for the English and the Spanish market.²

Other publications of Galliot Du Pré's for the year 1529 were new editions of the 'Roman de la la Rose,'³ 'Alain Chartier,'⁴ and the Epitome of Budé's 'De Asse.' He also shewed his continued interest in history by publishing Lapo Birago's Latin version of 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus,' first printed at Treviso in 1480, and 'L'histoire

¹ Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'

² See E. G. Duff, 'The Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535,' Cambridge, 1906, pp. 205 ff.

³ Trinity College, Cambridge.

⁴ British Museum.

agrégative des annales et croniques d'Anjou' by Jean de Bourdigné, a member of the same family as Charles de Bourdigné, the author of the 'Legende Pierre Faifeu. He associated himself in the publication of the 'Dionysius' with Pierre Vidoue, and in that of 'L'histoire d'Anjou' with two publishers of Angers. In the same year he published conjointly with Josse Bade a curious collection of three Latin theological treatises: 'tria aurea opuscula,'¹ by Jean Bertaud. The first is entitled 'Encomium triarum Mariarum cum earundem cultus defensione adversus Lutheranos'; the second is an office for their worship; the third treats of their relationship with St. John the Baptist.² The three Marias are the Virgin Mary, Mary the wife of Cleopas, and Salome the wife of Zebedee, who, according to the orthodox belief of that time, was originally called Mary, and, together with the wife of Cleopas, was supposed to be half-sister to the Virgin. But Lefèvre d'Etaples, in the same treatise (1517), in which he denied the identity of Mary the sister of Lazarus with Mary Magdalene and 'the woman who was a sinner,' also questioned the received view about the three Marias. He was answered in both points by Noel Bédier, the well-known champion of the Sorbonne, whose second treatise 'Apologia pro filiabus et nepotibus beatae Annae' appeared in February, 1520, just after the writings

¹ Van Praet, V., No. 139; 'Cat. Bibl. Nat.' The author died in 1545.

² 'Cat. Didot,' 1879, No. 468; A. Bernard, 'Geofroy Tory,' 259 ff. The Bibl. Nat. has three copies and the Bibl. Mazarine two.

of Luther had begun to circulate widely in Paris. Thus the cult of the three Maries came to be regarded as a sign of orthodoxy.

I have found seven publications, all in French, for the year 1530, three being translations and four original works. The translations include Josephus's 'Jewish War' made from the Latin and attributed to Claude de Seyssel,¹ and 'Singulier Traicte, contenant la propriete des Tortues, Escargots, Grenoilles . . . composé par Estienne D'aigue escuyer, seigneur de Beauvais en Berry.'² This is evidently an extract rendered into French from the author's Latin commentary on Pliny. Estienne de L'Aigue, as his real name was (in Latin Aqueus), was often employed on diplomatic missions by Francis I. He was in London in 1533 with Guillaume Du Bellay, and on Shrove Tuesday (25th February) was entertained by Henry VIII. at a banquet at which Anne Boleyn sat in the Queen's place.³ The secret marriage had taken place a month previously. It was doubtless Aigue's humanistic attainments which had made him acceptable to Francis I., but his career was cut short in 1538, when he died at Avignon in the arms of his friend Claude Cottereau.⁴ In 1538 Du Pré and Poncet Le Preux published his translation of Caesar's 'Commentaries

¹ With Poncet Le Preux and Claude Chevallon. Delalain, 'Notice Compl.' (from 'Cat. Didot,' 1881, No. 483).

² Delalain, 'Notice Compl.' To this year also belongs a translation by Jean de La Forest, afterwards ambassador to the Sultan, of an Italian oration delivered at Florence by Bartolommeo Cavalcanti (V. L. Bourrilly, in 'Rev. hist.,' XVI., 302).

³ V. L. Bourrilly, 'Guillaume Du Bellay,' 1905, p. 142.

⁴ *op. cit.*, p. 319.

on the Civil Wars' in a volume with Gaguin's version of the 'Gallic Wars.'¹

The four original works of 1530 are all of considerable interest. The largest is 'Froissart' in four volumes folio, published jointly with Jean Petit.² Another joint publication is 'Perceval le Gallois,'³ shared with Jean Longis and Jean de Saint-Denys, the latter being the predecessor of Pierre Sergeant and the Bonfons family at the sign of St. Nicholas in the rue Neuve Notre-Dame. This is the only known edition of this romance.

The remaining two were published by Du Pré alone. One of these entitled 'Contreditz de Songecreux,' is a satirical poem of much vigour, formerly attributed to Gringore, but now proved to be the work of his rival at the Court of Lorraine, Jehan du Pontalais, who was known by the soubriquet of Songecreux. A considerable share of the author's satire is directed against women. It was therefore only fair that Du Pré should publish in the same year the 'Champion des dames' of Martin Le Franc.⁴ This long poem which its author, who was secretary to the anti-Pope, Felix V., presented to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in 1442, was first printed at Lyons about 1490,⁵ but met with little success. Its re-publication was no doubt suggested by the fact that the time-honoured

¹ Van Praet, 2nd part, III., No. 59.

² I have seen a copy of Volumes I. and II. (in the possession of Mr. E. Ph. Goldschmidt), with only the name of G. Du Pré.

³ British Museum.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ M. Pellechet, 'Incunables de Lyon,' 1893.

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controversy on the subject of women, having received a fresh impetus from the 'Sylva nuptialis' of Giovanni Nevizano (1521) and the new edition of Tiraqueau's 'De legibus connubialibus' referred to above, was once more in full activity.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

(To be concluded.)

A MUNICIPAL LIBRARY AND ITS PUBLIC.

I.—THE NEWS-ROOM.

MANY readers of 'THE LIBRARY' remember with pleasure a series of articles, by Mr. Crunden, of the St. Louis Public Library, which appeared in the first and second volumes (New Series) 1899-1900, under the title, 'How things are done in one American Library.' The autobiographical method, if it may be so described, was welcome not only for its freshness, but also for the amount of information conveyed. The informal style adopted enabled Mr. Crunden to describe things, interesting to librarians and the public, which are not usually written about.

The Editors of 'THE LIBRARY' have invited me to write a series of papers of the same informal kind, on a slightly different theme; an invitation accepted with some misgivings, and at the same time with satisfaction, for I welcome the opportunity of putting down in a rambling way thoughts and observations on the relations between libraries and the public. It need hardly be said that neither the invitation nor its acceptance implies any suggestion that other librarians should come and sit at my feet. The invitation addressed to me is only one

more effort on the part of the Editors to win the sympathy of book-lovers for the work which the municipal libraries are trying, however imperfectly, to perform, and the object of these articles is to show just what one library is actually doing—not by any means to hold up that library as especially worthy of admiration or sympathy.

Much has been written about libraries during the last twenty years, especially about municipal libraries. A feeling exists that there is nothing more to be said on the subject. That is not my opinion. I think that the writing has been too much about the work and aims of librarians; while the other side, the relations of the public with the libraries, has been neglected. I cannot recall any attempt to survey the whole field of a library's service to the public. After all it is for the public that the libraries exist, and if there is failure of understanding on one side or the other, the best possible has not been attained. The *clientèle* of a public library has many minds, many wants, many aspirations, and more than a sprinkling of critics. This many-sidedness must be borne in mind in formulating a scheme of work for a library. The critics may be ignored to some extent; grumblers are everywhere: yet a distinction can readily be made between the growl of the chronic complainer and a public want finding expression. There has lately been a movement amongst librarians for abolishing newspapers from the reading rooms. The conditions vary, no doubt, especially as between London and the Provinces, and a plausible case may be made for abolition. There is, however,

another side—a wide public which finds uses in a well-selected series of newspapers, whether for reference, or for mere reading—idling, some people will say.

The question may be one of locality, so I will set down some points about the Cardiff reading-rooms, and not argue the matter.

Years ago our reading-room at the Central Library was much too small, and overcrowded with papers and readers. We had little or no supervision, and it was practically given over to loafers and undesirables. Why? An initial mistake was made by giving the reading-room a separate entrance, in order to keep the idle, unwashed loungers separate from the more respectable people who read books. This last description is a paraphrase of the reason assigned for the separate entrance twenty-seven years ago. It is worth recalling, because it shows what wrong ideas prevailed, and how a false start put everything wrong until an opportunity came for beginning again.

An extension of the buildings gave the opportunity. The extensions were to include a new reading room for newspapers, and weekly and other periodicals. The first principle laid down was, that to ensure supervision only one public entrance to all departments should be provided; the second, that the entrance to the main reading-room should be near the front door, thus diverting a large percentage of people immediately on entering. Other principles laid down were, that the room was to be so large as to allow of every newspaper and periodical having a fixed place, with plenty of space

for readers to move about without knocking against chairs, jostling other readers, and generally making things uncomfortable; also that a few seats and tables should be provided where people might sit to write, to read odd papers not given a fixed location, papers brought in by themselves, or, if they wished, to idle, neither reading nor writing, but just resting. Finally, an attendant was always to be on duty to overlook everything and everybody, to help those in search of information or back numbers, to direct strangers, and to prevent any abuses. With these lines laid down, the committee expected the reading room to assume a new character, to become of real service to the citizens. And so it has proved.

The newspapers are selected to cover a wide range of interests,—some immediately local, others of neighbouring towns and districts, representative journals from the chief centres of Wales and the border counties; London dailies of course; papers published in the chief centres of the coal and iron trade, and a representative selection from the chief population centres of the kingdom—Scotland, Ireland, the Midlands, Liverpool, Manchester, Yorkshire, the West of England, Bristol, and so on.

It would be difficult to enumerate all the purposes for which this wide selection of newspapers is used by the public. The first notion that strikes one is that people in search of employment use them to ascertain the demand for various kinds of labour over a wide area. This is undoubtedly one of the uses; but there are others even more important. People from various parts of the country use the newspapers to get home news; other people use

them to find out the state of the markets and the prices of commodities. It is, however, impossible to set down in anything like an adequate form the various purposes for which newspapers are required by the public. One thing is certain, that these uses are sufficiently important to cause much inconvenience and annoyance if any irregularity occurs in the supply of the papers. Indeed, if a paper like the 'Manchester Guardian' is only an hour late, the reading-room attendant receives at least half a dozen enquiries as to the reason.

In a seaport town special attention has to be given to everything relating to shipping. We take five copies of the 'Shipping Gazette,' two for the Central Library and three for the branch libraries, and these are kept on file for some time, the back numbers being constantly used. This paper is used not only by men but largely by women seeking information as to the whereabouts of husband, son, brother or sweetheart. If it were not for the public reading-rooms the only place where they would be able to use the 'Shipping Gazette' would be in certain public houses where it is taken in order to attract custom. We also take other papers such as the 'Sunderland Echo' and the 'Liverpool Journal of Commerce' which afford useful information on shipping matters.

Another shipping item,—the Berthing Lists of the local ports (Cardiff, Barry, Penarth and Newport) are posted daily at three branch libraries in districts inhabited by coal trimmers and others engaged in loading and discharging vessels. It is

perhaps necessary to explain that a berthing list is a document issued by dock companies daily about 10 a.m. containing a list of all the ships in dock with their positions. The value of the list lies in the facility it affords for people who have to do with shipping to find out at once where a particular vessel is located. A ship may come in to-day and be lying in one of the basins waiting for a berth. To-morrow it may be berthed at considerable distance from the basin. If it were not for the exhibition of the Berthing Lists in the reading-rooms people would have to go to the Dock Offices of the different docks before they would be able to get this information. We make special arrangements for the collection of these lists as soon as they are issued, and for their immediate despatch to the three reading-rooms. This is not a very striking form of public service, but its utility in the course of a year to a large number of people is very great.

In the selection of newspapers and periodicals preference is always given to the more expensive publications. We are shy, for instance, of half-penny dailies and of the cheaper weekly and monthly publications. Rigid supervision is also exercised over the admission of periodicals offered for presentation. As far as possible all faddist publications and periodicals issued exclusively to advertise particular firms or articles are rejected. If we accepted all the self-advertising, religious and faddist publications offered, there would be no room in our main reading-room, large as it is, for anything else. With regard to periodicals

dealing with religious matters a strict rule has been in operation for something like thirty years—excluding all. This was arrived at after long and bitter controversy as to what religious denominations should be represented amongst the papers taken. The Committee was packed from year to year with representatives of various religious bodies who cared little for the welfare of the library, but much for the search after religious equality. Finally it was decided that religious equality could best be attained by excluding all denominational papers, and for thirty years there has been peace, though efforts have been made from time to time by individuals interested in particular forms of religion to get the rule broken down.

We also refuse all offers to give us something for nothing in the shape of book-markers, magazine covers, volumes of music, and other articles covered over with advertisements. Efforts are constantly made by canvassing members of the Committee, and in other ways, to annex the reading-rooms to various advertising firms, so far I am glad to say, without success.

Our expenditure on newspapers and periodicals is £360 a year. The number of daily visits to the Central and six branch reading-rooms is about 10,000. We get, of course, a certain proportion of betting men and other undesirables, mostly at the Central Reading-room. They are, however, made to conform strictly to the rules and being well known to the Reading-room Attendant, are kept under observation and we have very little to

complain about in this direction. The sleeping and loafing, about which so much is heard in some libraries, do not trouble us. The presence of an attendant and the fact that we don't allow anyone to occupy a chair unless he is reading the periodical to which the chair belongs, help to keep these difficulties under. I have already explained that if a man simply wants to sit and rest provision is made for him at a spare table.

For some years we have adopted a system of interchange of the more expensive papers and magazines between the different reading-rooms so as to secure a wider supply for each branch. For instance, the 'Nineteenth Century,' after doing duty for a month in one reading-room, is sent a month late to another. Where a periodical is supplied second-hand a label is pasted inside the cover of the reading-case stating that it is supplied a month late and giving a list of reading-rooms where the current number may be seen. Most of the leading reviews and the expensive weeklies such as the 'Spectator,' 'Saturday Review,' 'Nation,' 'Outlook,' and the expensive technical, scientific, literary and trade organs are made to do double duty. Four copies of the 'Athenæum' serve seven reading-rooms, and a complete file is always available for reference at the Central Library. All papers are of course supplied first hand to the Central Reading-rooms.

The arrangements for reference to back numbers have been the subject of a good deal of care. Enamelled plates are fixed to the reading-stands and labels are placed inside reading-cases, stating

how far back numbers are available. Over the 'Times,' for instance, are two enamelled plates lettered as follows:—

'The numbers of this paper for one week back may be consulted on application to the Reading-room Attendant.'

'A file of this paper from the year 1861 may be consulted in the Reference Library.'

Another matter to which we have given some attention is the utilisation of surplus papers. For some years we sent parcels regularly to the light-houses and lightships, through the agency of the Trinity House steamer which carried supplies and relief. This, however, broke down after a successful career of some years, owing to some difficulty on the steamer, and our surplus newspapers and periodicals are now sent to the fire-brigade men, the workhouse, and similar institutions. Old magazines not needed for binding, and books withdrawn from circulation are given to the sailors' institutes connected with the port, where they are made up into bags and put on board outward-bound ships for the use of sailors. In the case of books we find it necessary to stamp them, 'Withdrawn from circulation and not to be returned to the library,' because in times past books have been returned to us from South America, and other remote parts of the world, by people who imagined they had been stolen.

Directories and similar works of reference, formerly kept in the reference-room, were transferred to the news-room a few years ago. At first they were handed out for consultation only on written

application slips, but later they were placed in rows on a special stand, with a ledge in front upon which the volumes can be laid open for use. A table is also provided for people who desire to make more than a brief reference, or who prefer to sit for other reasons. The abolition of the application slip has been followed by a very greatly increased use, the number of consultations averaging from 500 to 600 daily. It has also been followed by mutilations, which have hitherto baffled all efforts at detection. The mutilations are almost wholly confined to directories of one class, those published by firms charging for the insertion of names of business people up and down the country. The mutilations are the work of canvassers seeking custom for other directories of the same class, many of them bogus, and most of them worthless so far as any benefit to people who pay for the insertion of their names is concerned.

The Committee have just decided to overcome the difficulty by withdrawing directories of this class from the room, and refusing to accept them in future if offered. If other libraries would adopt the same course it would cripple the bogus directory canvassers.

Another step has just been taken to make this section of greater service to the community. We undertake to make brief references to directories, telegraph codes, and similar books in response to telephone calls, and to reply by telephone as soon as the information asked for is found. It is absurd to put a business house to the waste of time and trouble of sending to the library, perhaps a couple

of miles, for a single address out of a directory, a telegraphic address, or the meaning of a code word, when the information could be asked for and given in a few minutes by means of the telephone. We have printed 7500 copies of a special eight-page bulletin for business men, briefly explaining the system, and giving a list of directories and works of reference of that class to be found at the Central Library. A copy of this bulletin was addressed and delivered to every name in the National and Post Office telephone lists for the Cardiff area, just over 5000. The result has been entirely satisfactory. We get about a dozen inquiries daily, a number which we expect will largely increase as the facilities offered become better known. A telephone-room and office near the news-room has been arranged, two clerical assistants follow their ordinary duties in this office, and attend to inquiries, one being always on duty. If the demand for this class of service grows, the Committee are prepared to increase the staff to meet it.

Some attempts at abuse of these facilities were anticipated, but so far there have been none. On the other hand, the inquiries made are mainly of the kind we were prepared for, and some reveal unforeseen lines of usefulness which will increase the value of the libraries to the community. All inquiries are treated as strictly confidential, and I cannot therefore give actual examples. As an illustration I may mention an inquiry made by a large wholesale dealer, who wished to know the difference between two articles used in manufacture, nearly akin, but differing in quality and value.

A dictionary of applied chemistry supplied exactly the information required, the descriptions of each being read out over the telephone and taken down in shorthand at the other end of the wire. Telegraph codes are regularly called for, and many inquirers wish to obtain addresses of business houses of a particular class in various parts of the country.

If the inquiry is of such a nature that a brief reply cannot be given, arrangements are made for the necessary books to be ready for consultation at a stated time. The telephone is already largely used in many libraries. The establishment of a regular telephone inquiry-office as a part of the library service in large towns is only a question of time, and opens the way to a wide sphere of usefulness for libraries, on lines as yet barely touched.

Speaking on news-rooms in 1901, Professor S. J. Chapman of Owen's College said that newspapers enable people to do what Alice's fellow-passengers did in the train 'through the looking-glass,' namely to think in chorus. An objector may say, with the ingenious creator of Alice and her adventures, 'If you know what that means, it is more than I do.' Of course, strictly it is an absurdity, but broadly it conveys a deep truth. The parts of our complicated social machine have to act in chorus or face disaster; members of Parliament of one party have to talk in chorus, or else cease to be a party; and their constituents have to think in chorus, or else the notion of representation is nonsense and democracy a sham. It is the nature of the machine, its democratic organisation, which

makes this impossibility necessary. And its necessity is no new discovery. Rousseau, in the eighteenth century, argued that political organisation implied a general will, apart from individual wills; in fact not merely a thinking in chorus, but a willing in chorus. And what on earth has thinking in chorus to do with newspapers? Just this much, that in a large society, such as ours, it is impossible without newspapers. There can be no 'public opinion,' no 'national resentment,' no 'social conscience,' nor such a thing as a conscious social organism at all, unless individuals have presented to them the same facts, the same fictions, and the same thoughts, at approximately the same time. By the newspapers, it is as if each were given a thousand eyes and ears in different localities. Just as the public meeting-place was an essential feature of the small ancient democracies, so the essential of modern democracy is the newspaper; which means, some will say, that every man must buy his penny or halfpenny paper, as he can well afford to do. True, but remember that (amazing as it may appear) a love for these fascinating journals is not born with a man; and further, that some of the least trustful readers like to compare reports and judgments. The public news-room makes the home newspaper-reader, and the comparison made in the news-room prevents him from being the slave of one newspaper.

Developments have taken place in the journalistic world since Professor Chapman made these observations. Comparison is more necessary than ever to enable newspaper readers to escape from

'always peeping out at one hole.' Thus access to a choice of papers is essential to correct the hurried scanning of headlines, which destroys the power to read and think.

The news-room may be approached from two points of view. It may be regarded as an evil and left to its fate with some attempt to overcome abuses; or the difficulties may be overcome by making it a useful adjunct to the other departments in meeting the needs of the public. We have taken the latter course, with the result that the closing of the room for renovation causes serious inconvenience to a large number of business men—any attempt to close it altogether, or to modify its present basis, would be met by a public protest which would not easily be forgotten.

All classes use the Reading-rooms, for business inquiries, for information on current questions, for 'a quiet read' when the day's work is done. Our efforts have been directed to killing the notion that it is a place for one class only, and we have succeeded. Working men in plenty will be found there, and also business and professional men, and a sprinkling of idlers and ne'er-do-weels, but these two last are in so great a minority that they do not count for much, and if they are dirty or misbehave, they are at once excluded.

JOHN BALLINGER.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

TIME was when to contemplate the cover of a new volume by Anatole France was a feast of anticipation, but the perusal of his latest book 'Les désirs de Jean Servien,' proved for me the sadness of realisation. The material is promising enough, but little is made of it. The hero is a youth, a poor futile sort of creature, lacking talent and energy, and educated above his station. He emerges from boyhood with a desire for beauty but only in the more voluptuous sense of the term, a state of mind that culminates in a hopeless 'grande passion' for a third-rate 'tragédienne.' The young man dies an ignoble death at the hands of a woman, a 'cantinière' of the 'Vengeurs de Lutèce,' during the Commune. The best-drawn character in the book is the youth's father, a working bookbinder, a man who steadily performed his daily work, and did as he thought, the best for his son. Tudesco, the boy's first tutor, is an amusing vagabond of the type Anatole France paints so inimitably.

'J'ai traduit (he says) la *Jerusalem liberata*, le chef-d'oeuvre immortel de Torquato Tasso. Oui, Monsieur, j'ai consacré mes veilles à cette tâche glorieuse et ingrate. Sans famille, sans patrie, j'ai écrit ma traduction dans des soupentes obscures et glacées, sur du papier à chandelle,

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sur des cartes à jouer, sur des cornets à tabac. . . . Oui, Monsieur, j'ai souvent déjeuné d'une page de Tacite et soupé d'une satire de Juvénal.'

During the siege Tudesco develops into an 'ingénieur au service de la Commune, avec le grade de colonel,' and when surprise is expressed that he should have attained such a post, he coolly observes: 'La science! Les études! Quelle puissance! Savoir, c'est pouvoir. Pour vaincre les satellites du despotisme, il faut la science. C'est pourquoi je suis ingénieur avec le grade de colonel.' But in spite of Tudesco, the hand that wrote 'Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard' and the series beginning with 'L'orme du mail,' seems to have lost some of its cunning.

Much in the same way 'Le blé qui lève,' René Bazin's new novel, interesting as its point of view is, scarcely reaches the level of 'Les Oberlé,' and 'La terre qui meurt.' It is a sad story in which Bazin preaches religion and resignation to the agricultural labourer, and assures him that with all the trade unions and socialism, he is less well off than when he was under the direct care of his employer, the squire, the owner of the land, and when he joined hands with the church.

The most remarkable chapters in the book are those describing a 'maison de retraite' in Belgium just across the French frontier, where certain workmen and labourers are in the habit of spending two or three days once or twice a year.

The priests attempt to introduce the ideal into the men's more or less prosaic lives.

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'L'intérêt est triste, toujours; il est mécontent, toujours. . . . Vous n'êtes que moitié d'hommes, parcequ'on vous a renfermés dans la vie présente avec défense d'en sortir par la pensée. Et vous l'avez souffert! Vous êtes bien plus pauvres que vous ne le supposez. Vous n'avez plus la terre, et vous n'avez plus le ciel.

. . . Mon pauvre frère, pourvu que tu le veuilles, tu es riche. Ton travail est une prière, et l'appel à la justice, même quand il se trompe de temple, en est une autre. Tu lèves ta bêche, et les anges te voient; tu es enveloppé d'amis invisibles; ta peine et ta fatigue germent en moisson de gloire. Oh! quelle joie de ne pas être jugé par les hommes!'

It is undoubtedly an error to deprive the people of anything that awakens their imagination, but whether the practice of occasionally going into retreat is likely to keep the imagination alive is too large a subject to discuss here.

* * * * *

In German fiction there is nothing to take the world by storm, but I have been much delighted with Georg Hermann's 'Jettchen Gebert.' It is a love-tale of much pathos and sadness, told with sympathy and with great charm of style, and, unlike most modern novels, can be safely put into the hands of all. The scene is laid in the Berlin of 1840. Jettchen, a Jewess, niece and adopted daughter of a wealthy cloth-merchant, falls in love with Dr. Kössling, a Protestant, and an impecunious author. Her family object to the union chiefly on account of Kössling's poverty and lack of prospects, and perhaps a little from racial prejudice. Neither of the lovers has the courage to take matters

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into their own hands, nor to wait patiently in the hope of a happy solution. Jettchen feels so bound to her uncle and aunt for their kindness that she considers it her duty to marry the husband they have chosen for her, a connection of the family, and in a similar business to her uncle. Another uncle, a man of refinement and culture, who is very fond of Jettchen and in Kössling's confidence, has not however the energy to assist them, and advises Kössling to keep away, and so help Jettchen to forget him. The manner in which the family set about subduing the girl's will is very subtle: they simply ignore the love-affair.

'They did not speak about it; they were unwilling even to think about it. Time would set all right, and she would get over it like a sensible girl. The best thing was to act as if they knew nothing about it. And they treated Jettchen with incredible kindness. Her uncle became almost affectionate, and her aunt behaved as if the assistance Jettchen gave her in the household was a gift for which she could not be sufficiently grateful. Scarcely a hard word had been uttered over the whole matter.

'And it was exactly this attitude that broke Jettchen's quiet resistance; for the worst tyranny is where there are no disagreeable words and no commands. It is as easy to resist when the others are hard and unkind, as it is difficult when they are gentle and amiable. And it is as easy to remain firm in one's own will when resistance has to be met, as it is difficult to do anything on one's own responsibility when there is no opposition. . . .

'And although Jettchen's nights were at first sleepless, and her lonely hours filled with weeping, life came again each morning and demanded its rights; it came with a hundred people who spoke to Jettchen and expected an answer; it came with the housekeeping, which fell entirely

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on Jettchen's shoulders; it came with walks and concerts when she had to accompany her aunt; it came with needlework for birthday presents, and with newspapers, and gossip, and books.

'And what could she have said to her uncle? That someone had come; that they had met a few times; had confessed that they loved each other; that then he had gone away, and she had heard nothing more from him.'

And the irony is that Kössling meanwhile secures a post in the Royal Library: his hopes revive. But he learns that Jettchen's wedding is to take place in a couple of days, and although the lovers have one more interview, they agree that submission to fate is the only way. And so for lack of courage and some plain-speaking a life is wrecked. The story ends on her wedding day (and a tragic day it is for the bride), and we are left to gather that she does not long survive it, if at all.

'Gegen den Strom. Eine weltliche Kloster-geschichte,' by Paul Heyse, is a rather dull novel, but written in the beautiful German of which Heyse is master. Several men whose careers have somehow been wrecked retire from the world and live together in a sort of monastic community. But finally through the benign influence of women they emerge again into the world. It is a vast pity that a most unnecessary episode dragged in near the end, renders it impossible to recommend the book for general reading. When such episodes help the story or the characterisation, or serve some real artistic purpose, it would be absurd to object to them, but when as here they are quite needless, the unity of the story is spoiled.

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In 'Der Amerikaner,' Gabriele Reuter seeks to show the contrast between the slow-moving German country gentry and the Americanised German. He is described as cool and very sure of himself, although his methods of getting on are dubious. He knocks down the obstacles in his way without regard for the feelings of others, and has no respect for tradition or rooted prejudice. The book is inartistic and dull, and more inclined, I think, to make the reader prefer the society of the stay-at-homes to the slap-dash representative of so-called modernism.

I confess it is somewhat of a relief to turn to Wildenbruch's 'Lucrezia' and its old-fashioned onslaught (so I suppose it would be characterised) on the modern young woman. It comes, of course, from a man, but there is, I feel, something to be said from his point of view. The heroine, a beautiful girl, believes she is a genius and is kept in the false illusion by her lover to whom, condemning marriage and its conventionalities, she gives herself in so-called free love. She finally discovers the hollowness of such a philosophy of life, repents too late, and too weak to bear her punishment kills herself. A tremendous invective is put into the mouth of Lucrezia's mother, who frankly says what she thinks of the new fighting woman, whom she considers a pure materialist, lacking charm, refinement and delicacy. Here are a few sentences:

'A plaything for his senses? A whipping boy for his bad temper? The boredom of marriage? Are these the expressions with which you dispose of what held two

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creatures together for a lifetime, during which they have grown together, and in consequence of the companionship have become ever greater, better, and happier. . . . Shall I tell you the fact as it is? A few, among the women who talk like that, are really talented, have really a head of their own, with their own thoughts in it; and they preach their wisdom to you, and although it is false and bad wisdom, still it is their own. But the rest of you, that is ninety-nine out of a hundred of you, have no ideas of your own. You try to form yourselves on the few talented women among you. It's only vanity that inflames you. You write poems and stories that are like heated stoves of sensuality, while in fact you yourselves are cold, and incapable of falling sincerely and honourably in love.'

There are here some elements of truth in spite of the exaggeration.

* * * * *

The most interesting book in 'Belles Lettres' that has come my way lately is Joachim Merlant's 'Sénancour (1770-1846)) poète, penseur religieux et publiciste. Sa vie, son œuvre, son influence.' The aim of the book is to make known a writer who deserves more recognition than he has hitherto had, the author of 'Obermann'—'un des esprits les plus extraordinaires de cette époque.' It was Matthew Arnold who appreciated him as one who had well scanned 'the hopeless tangle of our age.' Sénancour the man may be described in a couple of lines, as one who sought happiness and did not find it; who sought truth, and in seeking it found all the happiness for which he was born.

His works are of very high value in psychology and in ethical history. They all breathe faith in

the virtue of intelligence, and reverence for a type of truth purely intellectual. They had a very great influence on such writers as Ste.-Beuve, George Sand (Lélia was the daughter or sister of Obermann), Alfred de Vigny, Maurice de Guérin, and Amiel. The author goes deeply into the evolution of Sénancour's mind, and a very fascinating study it is, for all who are interested in human psychology. Maxims that give food for thought abound in Sénancour's writings. Here are some examples:

'La vie est un laborieux mouvement d'espérance.'

'Qui n'a pas pleinement aimé, n'a pas possédé sa vie.'

'Observez la maladie: elle paraît affreuse, elle est bienfaisante, c'est elle qui a le pouvoir de soumettre le corps à l'âme.'

That the last observation is true is known to all who have passed through a period of serious illness. It is only through physical suffering that we realise our soul as an independent power.

In the following passage Sénancour sums up, I think, a great truth, inasmuch without the 'inquiétude' and its results, which he describes, human beings would accomplish nothing.

'L'homme réel est une créature inquiète, et qui ne peut se passer de son inquiétude, à qui, tout divertissement quelqu'il soit, rouler une brouette comme fait Obermann aux vendanges, ou s'aventurer dans l'occultisme, ou rêver d'immenses desseins, ou s'enchanter d'un inaccessible amour, enfin toute curiosité et toute action valent mieux que la sérénité d'une mort anticipée.'

To do full justice to Merlant's book a whole article would be required, and so I must here

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content myself with quoting a passage from the conclusion :

‘Tout en admettant de plus en plus que l'individu isolé n'est qu'une abstraction, et qu'à s'obstiner dans la solitude une âme n'aspire qu'à se nier elle-même, il a cru, d'accord avec les plus hautes doctrines, que la solitude, si elle n'est un but, est un moyen éminent de culture intérieure, un aliment d'énergie spirituelle, et qu'enfin les hommes les plus grands, les plus nobles représentants de l'espèce, les plus utiles à la vie générale, sont aussi les plus recueillis, les plus fervents à se refaire sans cesse eux-mêmes, et, non-contents de subsister sur les forces communes, les plus aptes à découvrir dans l'humanité, au prix d'un constant labeur sur soi, des forces nouvelles. . . .

‘Aristocrate et cosmopolite, il n'est ni probable, ni désirable, qu'il atteigne jamais le grand public. Qu'on veuille reconnaître en lui le précurseur malheureux d'une humanité supérieure. . . . Ses livres ne peuvent manquer d'apparaître comme les symboles, souvent complexes et souvent obscurs, de la génération qui, formée par les Philosophes et par Rousseau, vécut dans le trouble, l'effort et la recherche, et ne se crut justifiée par aucun échec à brûler aucune de ses premières idoles.’

There are some interesting essays in Baldensperger's ‘*Études d'Histoire Littéraire.*’ The volume deals more or less with subjects belonging to comparative literature. ‘Young et ses “nuits” en France’ is a valuable contribution to the history of our own literature. The critic here describes Young as ‘un des poètes étrangers qui ont le plus contribué à initier notre XVIII^e siècle à des nouveautés fécondes.’ To the French critics of 1823, the early poems of Lamartine and Victor Hugo recalled the manner of the English poet. Young was

read in France, both in the original and in translation. There were several French versions. Young was a favourite poet with Robespierre, Camille Desmoulins, Lucien Bonaparte and Mme. Récamier. The poetry of Lamartine and the prose of Chateaubriand undoubtedly owe something to that of Young, but after 1825 his vogue and his influence waned, and from one of the foreign poets who had in the eighteenth century the widest European fame, he became 'ce fossoyeur ambitieux,' 'monotone et factice.' The essay on the universality of the French language is an ingenious plea that France more than any other country 'semble hospitalier à l'idéal d'humaine culture, de développement varié, de curiosité et de communication raisonnables,' and that French is the best language for the expression of those things. The preface contains some pregnant observations on methods of presenting literary history.

The fourth series of Émile Faguet's 'Propos Littéraires' contains, as such books by Frenchmen invariably do, delightful reading. One of the most engaging essays is on suicide, *à propos* of Durkheim's volume, 'Le Suicide.' There we learn that those who commit suicide least are married men and married women with children. The married woman, however, who is childless, kills herself more than the celibate woman, and Faguet comments on the fact thus:

'Ah! Ceci, Messieurs, ne serait pas à notre honneur. Il prouverait que ce n'est pas nous qui sommes capables de rendre la femme heureuse, mais les enfants; et que, sans eux, elle est plus malheureuse avec nous qu'à rester toute seule.'

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And this is really quite natural, for it is solitude that kills, and the married woman without children is more lonely than the celibate woman, who, even if she lives alone, lives less solitarily than the childless wife. The celibate woman has friends and neighbours and makes herself a little circle. The childless wife has only her husband, and he, either for business or pleasure, or merely because it is man's nature, is always out. And a husband, M. Faguet declares, by his very existence prevents his wife from forming a circle for herself. He dislikes, when he does come home, to find his house full of visitors, or to find his wife out, and so the husband instead of being 'une compagne' becomes 'un isolateur.'

* * * * *

A work of unique importance to students of mediæval history has just been issued in the two volumes of 'Acta Aragoniensiæ. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. 1291-1327).' It is edited by Dr. Heinrich Finke and dedicated to the Director of the Crown Archives at Barcelona, who gave the author access to the documents here printed and commented on. Everyone requiring information about the period of Philip the Fair, Robert of Naples, Frederick of Sicily, the German Emperors and Kings, Jaymes II., the contemporary Popes, and the most distinguished Cardinals and Prelates, will in future be obliged to consult the 'Acta Aragoniensiæ,' which offers for the first time a complete diplomatic corres-

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pondence for the middle ages. Not only is it concerned with Europe, but we learn something of places outside that continent. There are descriptions of Morocco, of the pilgrimage to 'beata Maria' at Nazareth, and to the holy places of Jerusalem; and it is surprising what a stream of modern feeling runs through this real mediæval epoch.

The second edition of Dr. Richard Wülker's '*Geschichte der Englischen Literatur*' contains a long account by Dr. Groth of contemporary English Literature. He deals with poetry, fiction and drama. The survey is introduced by a series of paragraphs demonstrating the influence of the growth of the Imperialist spirit on our present-day literature. He has much to say that is true of our contemporary novels, and deprecates our English hesitation to pronounce judgment on an author in his lifetime, a practice that prevents a standard of criticism in literary questions. It is indeed matter for regret that our literary reviews should have become little more than synopses of the contents of poems or plays or novels, but after all the final verdict may safely be left to posterity. Yet, if the critics were really critical, their influence might mitigate the evils of the large output of mediocre work that surely helps to obscure much of the really excellent work that is being produced. Dr. Groth considers R. L. Stevenson one of the most charming figures in this period of our literature, warns us against over-rating Kipling, and devotes seven out of the 140 pages of his survey to Bernard Shaw, whom he characterises as 'unquestionably

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one of the most intellectual, witty and ruthless writers of the present day,' better appreciated in Germany than in his own country. There is some curious nomenclature: many of us would find a difficulty in realizing who was meant by Henry Dobson; there are some omissions: thus among the poets Herbert Trench and Alfred Noyes are ignored; but on the whole it is well done and we know of no one English book in which such a succinct account could be found.

The following books deserve attention:

Mémoires sur Lazare Carnot 1753-1823. Par Hippolyte Carnot, 1801-88.

This is a new edition of the 'Memoirs of Carnot,' by his son, at which the latter had been working for some time before his death in 1888. All the additions and corrections to which he had given a definite character are included here, and it is illustrated in accordance with his intentions.

Campagne de l'Empereur Napoléon en Espagne (1808-9). Par le Commandant breveté Balagny. Vol. V.

This volume deals with Almaraz, Uclès, and the departure of Napoleon. It consists of documents and letters with a running narration by the author.

Eugène Étienne. *Son œuvre: coloniale, algérienne et politique (1881-1906).* 2 vols.

A collection of speeches and memoranda on colonial and Algerian questions, and on foreign and domestic politics by a former Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Minister of War and for Home Affairs. The book is published under his authorisation, and forms a useful survey of recent French politics.

Journal Inédit du Duc de Croÿ, 1718-84.
Publié d'après le manuscrit autographe conservé à

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la bibliothèque de l'institut, avec introduction, notes et index. Par le Vicomte de Grouchy et Paul Cottin. 4 vols.

Of great importance for the history of the reigns of Louis XV. and XVI. The Duc says himself: 'Mon ouvrage contiendra une suite d'histoire véridique, que l'on ne trouvera peut-être pas inutile, un jour!'

La Société française pendant le consulat. Série V. Les beaux-arts. Série VI. L'armée—le clergé—la magistrature—l'instruction publique. Par Gilbert Stenger.

These volumes complete the work. It ends with a 'jugement' on Bonaparte, the First Consul, inspired by the ten years of reading whence the book had its being.

La bourgeoisie Française au XVII^e Siècle. La vie publique—Les idées et les actions politiques 1604-61. Etude sociale. Par Charles Normand.

A very full and careful history of the subject.

Louis Napoléon Bonaparte et la révolution de 1848 avec des documents et des Portraits inédits. Par André Lebey.

Richelieu et la maison de Savoie. L'Ambassade de Particelli d'Hémery en Piémont. Par Gabriel de Mun.

Cardinal Retz called Particelli 'le plus corrompu de son siècle.' The book gives an excellent survey of the inner life of Italian courts, and proves that Richelieu was scarcely as all-powerful as he is said to have been.

Histoire de Bourbilly. Par le Comte de Franqueville.

A very interesting record of a country house which prior to 1032 was part of the royal domain, and then became the property of the

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Dukes of Burgundy. Since 1213 it has been in the hands of five families, and is now owned by the author of the book. Memories of Mme. de Sévigné and her daughter, Mme. de Grignan, are closely connected with this house.

La Provence à travers les siècles. Par Émile Caman.

A learned and exhaustive work dealing with the periods of the Roman domination and the Christian civilisation.

Études de Littérature Canadienne Française. Nouvelles Études de Littérature Canadienne Française. Par Charles ab der Halden.

The first series contains an introductory essay on the French language and literature in Canada by Louis Herbet. The studies open up a new subject, and in fact, reveal the existence of a new literature.

Causeries d'Égypte. Par G. Maspero.

Articles reprinted from the 'Journal des Débats,' 1893-1907. They were written with a view to popularising sciences regarded as incomprehensible except to the expert, and make capital reading for the layman interested in the progress of Egyptology.

La Civilisation Pharaonique. Par Albert Gazet.

A very interesting and well-executed sketch of the civilization of Egypt before it came under the Græco-Roman influence, while its aim was 'se renfermer dans le domaine des idées.'

Études sur l'ancien poème français du voyage de Charlemagne en orient. Par Jules Coulet.

A recent publication of the 'Société pour l'étude des langues Romaines.' It treats of the date, nature, and legend of the poem, and ends with a chapter on the place of the poem in mediæval literature.

Le Romantisme et la Critique. La Presse littéraire sous la Restauration, 1815-30. Par Ch.-M. Des Granges.

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The author opens with a chapter on the utility of the newspaper in literary history, and concludes his volume with the conviction that from the newspapers and periodicals of the period may be learned best the invasion of the foreign element into French literature. He promises a volume on 'Shakespeare et le Romantisme.'

La Vie d'un poète. Coleridge. Par Joseph Aguard.

A well-written biography of the poet, with prose versions of those poems which specially bear on the poet's life.

Camille Desmoulins. Par Jules Claretie. Illustrated.

A poignant history that 'garde comme un reflet de légende,' of a 'personnage de roman.'

L'armée et les institutions militaires de la Confédération suisse au début de 1907. Par H. Lemant.

A most useful volume for those studying various military systems.

L'Éducation de la Femme Moderne. Par J.-L. de Lanessan.

An account of the education of the modern woman in early childhood and in the primary and secondary schools, and of her rôle in modern life. The author deplores the necessity for women to work in competition with men.

Geschichte der Königlich Deutschen Legion, 1803-16. Von Bernhard Schwertfeger. 2 vols.

A full account of all the campaigns in which the legion took part.

Die Frauenfrage in den Romanen Englischer Schriftstellerinnen der Gegenwart. Von Dr. Ernst Foerster.

The English authoresses chosen are George Egerton, Mona Caird, and Sarah Grand.

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Jean Paul. Der Verfasser der *Levana*. Von Dr. Wilhelm Münch.

A volume of a series entitled, 'Die Grossen Erzieher,' among whom the only Englishman is Herbert Spencer. Dr. Münch says that few books on education contain so much deep thought as the '*Levana*.'

Ludwig Uhland. Die Entwicklung des Lyrikers und die Genesis des Gedichtes. Von Hans Haag.

An interesting and detailed æsthetic study of Uhland.

Georg Christoph Lichtenberg. Gedanken, Satiren, Fragmente. Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Herzog. 2 vols.

A delightful little volume in which to begin acquaintance with Lichtenberg. It contains aphorisms which are valuable contributions to such subjects as the psychology of love and marriage, politics, anthropology, physiognomy, the drama, painting, pedagogy, ancient and modern literature; and the ideas are as fresh to-day as they were in 1799.

Berthold Auerbach. Der Mann, sein Werk, sein Nachlass. Von Anton Bettelheim.

Most valuable perhaps on the critical side, which shows Auerbach as the forerunner of Anzengruber and Rosegger, of Tolstoy and Björnson.

ELIZABETH LEE.

SIENESE TAVOLETTE.



ISITORS to Italy are so fond of bringing home with them some object of art as a memento of their holiday, that the not infrequent substitution of forgeries for genuine works may possibly be regarded by the vendors as part of a national scheme of self-defence. A few years ago among the commonest subjects of forgery were the painted wooden covers of the municipal account-books of Siena. So many purchases of these were made by English tourists, and so many of the purchases were brought to the British Museum for verification, that the nature of the contents of thin brown-paper parcels of a certain shape was sometimes successfully guessed before the string was untied. The 'tavolette,' as they are called, were thus not the least among the attractions which Siena offered me during a recent short stay there. After inspecting them for myself in the gallery of the Palazzo Piccolomini, in which they are preserved, I found that they had been made the subject of a sumptuous monograph¹ by the Director

¹ 'Le tavolette dipinte di Biccherna e di Gabella del R. Archivio di Stato in Siena. Con illustrazione storica del Direttore dell' Archivio Cav. Alessandro Lisini. Siena, Stab. Foto-Litografico. Sordi-Muti. 1901. (The imprint deserves note, as one of the worthiest of Siena's worthies, Tommaso Pendola, was an early worker for the deaf-mutes, and directed for many years the institute of which the 'stabilimento foto-litografico' is an offshoot.)

of the Archivio Civile, the information in which is so full as to leave no room for any further research. Short notices of the 'tavolette' have also appeared in several French, German, and Italian magazines. In England, on the other hand, little or no study has been made of them, which perhaps may account for the ready sale which the forgeries seem to have found among English visitors. Thus it seems worth while to put together a few notes on the subject, despite the little room left for any original treatment of it.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, when these painted bindings begin, Siena sought financial safety by changing the controllers of its treasury every half-year, and requiring them to submit their accounts to a double audit. The treasury, or 'Biccherna' as it was called, a word of unknown origin, was governed by a Chamberlain ('Camerlingo') and four Supervisors ('Provveditori'). Their books of accounts were liable to be inspected at any moment by three commissioners ('terziari'), and after the six-months' term of office they had to be submitted for formal audit within thirty days to three other good, sufficient, and lawful men ('altri tre uomini, buoni, sufficienti e legali'). The accounts seem to have been kept in duplicate, one book being in Latin and the other in Italian, and to compensate the officials for their trouble and for the perils of the double audit, they seem to have been allowed to spend ten soldi on having a commemorative picture painted on the upper cover as a record of their term of office. Ten soldi, however, was the maximum, and the price was subse-

quently lowered to eight, and then to seven. The volume commemorating the Chamberlain mostly shows a picture of that official, seated at a table, with money, or a money-bag, in front of him. The figure of the Chamberlain himself, though probably no very careful portrait, partook so far of that character as to show that he was mostly, if not always, a member of a religious order. In the case of the *Provveditori*, four portraits would have been too great a strain on the artist's imagination, and he was therefore permitted to substitute four shields bearing their arms. On the earlier 'tavolette' of both series the picture was mostly followed by an inscription, which may either record the names of the officials, or enable them to be ascertained from the mention of the *Podestà* under whom they held office. Thus the earliest 'tavoletta' now in the Archivio shows a Cistercian monk, Frate Ugo, of the abbey of S. Galgano, Chamberlain of the Republic of Siena, seated at a table holding a book, on the pages of which can be read the date, 'I.A.D.' (in anno domini) 'MCCLVIII mēse iulii,' while above and beside the picture is the inscription, in white letters on a red ground (contractions expanded): 'Liber Camerarii tempore domini Bonifatii domini Castellani de Bononia senensis potestatis in ultimis sex mensibus sui regiminis.'

The second 'tavoletta' in the series commemorates the first four *Provveditori* of 1263, and bears their coats of arms with the inscription: 'Hic est liber dominorum Bartalomei Orlandi Istielli iudicis, domini Ghinibaldi Ildibrandini Salvani, Bartalomei'

¹ This is not an original, but a copy.

Bencivenni Mancini, domini Nichole Roczi, quatuor Provisorum Communis Senarum tempore domini Inghirami de Gorzano, Dei et Regia gratia Senarum Potestatis, in primis sex mensibus sui regiminis.'

Besides the two covers painted each half-year for the Chamberlain and Provveditori, another commemorated the term of office of the 'Esecutori di Gabella' (Commissioners of Customs), and the tenth cover of the series exhibited, that of the Gabella for 1290, is still attached to portions of the original book to which it belonged, while the archives record the fact that seven sols were paid to the painter Massarucio for painting it.

As time went on, a more ambitious style of decoration was adopted. Thus when the first commissioner was a monk of the abbey of S. Galgano, a picture of the saint appears on the cover. On the cover of an early Gabella-book we find an imitation of part of the famous fresco, an allegory of Good Government, painted by Lorenzetti in the town-hall. A few 'tavolette' were themselves the work of well-known painters, such as Sano di Pietro, though even these have no great artistic merit.

Whereas in the thirteenth century three 'tavolette' had been painted each half-year, in the fourteenth only two were executed, the Italian copy of the Biccherna accounts being bound in parchment, while the Latin copy was permitted to retain its antique covers. By 1445 the accounts of Siena were becoming too complicated to be recorded in volumes of the traditional size. Larger account-books were needed, and the commemorative painting

was no longer attached to them. For a time frescoes were used, but as these threatened to take up too much room, small separate paintings were substituted. Of the ninety-two 'tavolette' illustrated in Signor Lisini's monograph, sixty-one belong to this later period, and only thirty-one to the years 1258-1445, out of a total of eight or nine hundred which must have been produced during that period, on the supposition that there were no breaks in the series. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the number preserved in the Office of the Chamberlain of the Biccherna must have been nearly treble as many, for in 1724 the Abate Galgano Bichi compiled an heraldic index to them, still preserved in the Archivio,¹ and in this references are given to no fewer than fifty-eight examples not in the exhibition. A highly misleading sentence in Baedeker's Guide to Central Italy, where the 'tavolette' are briefly mentioned, accounts for these disappearances by regretting that 'the collection has unfortunately been much reduced by sales to foreigners.' In so far as recent years are concerned it would be more accurate to say that 'the collection has been fortunately increased by repurchases and donations.' The depredations seem to have taken place at a much earlier period. The Archives of Siena are lodged in the Palazzo Piccolomini, and at the end of the seventeenth century a member of the Piccolomini

¹ 'Copia dell' armi gentilizie e dell' iscrizioni che son espresse nelle Tavolette che già servirono per coperte de' libri del Magistrato della Magnifica Biccherna di Siena et ora trovansi staccate da medesimi.'

family removed fourteen of the 'tavolette,' which commemorated the financial services of his ancestors, to the papal palace at Pienza, whence they were subsequently returned. The chief profiter by the depredations was a painter of Cologne named Ramboux, who formed a collection of these 'tavolette,' and subsequently sold them, or permitted them to be sold after his death. That he was a bad man may be suspected from the fact that a cover which belonged to 1262, was ascribed in the catalogue to the humorously early date 1053; while a painting, of which the archives record that it was painted for eight sols by Dietisalve di Speme, is assigned to Duccio di Buoninsegna, the most famous of the primitive Sieneese masters.

The sentence in Baedeker is regrettable for another reason than the slur which it might be understood to pass on the present management of the Archivio, for its mention of 'sales to foreigners' suggests possibilities of purchase which may account for the supply of forgeries to which I have already alluded. I can place the date at which I first saw one of these at about 1895, because I was then editing 'Bibliographica,' and very nearly committed myself to giving an illustration of it in that periodical, under the impression that to the many other charms which it undoubtedly possessed it added that of antiquity—which was far from being the case. Fortunately for me the forgery was still unsold in the hands of a dealer, and a not unreasonable objection to advertising anything in this condition stood me instead of erudition. During the next eight or nine years I saw several others, but it

is some time now since a new example has been shown to me, so that I presume that the stock is exhausted. The workmen employed in producing it must have been men of considerable skill and taste, and, at least in some cases, the prices asked for the bindings were no more than they were worth—as new work. To anyone who knew the originals their beauty indeed was their chief condemnation, for every inch of them was painted in gold and colours, and the central figure, usually that of a saint, was far more freely handled than is common in early Siene pictures, and quite unlike the stiff figures on the ‘tavolette.’ Moreover the forgers, if my memory serves me, never ventured on names or inscriptions, and I should be greatly surprised if they troubled themselves to suit the arms on the binding to the office-holders of any particular year. In some cases, moreover, both covers were richly decorated, whereas in the genuine ‘tavolette’ only the upper cover was painted. As I have said, the supply of these handsome impostures seems to have stopped. I saw none in shop-windows at Siena during my recent visit. But if any collector should chance to be offered the painted cover of a Siene account-book, he will be well advised to consult Signor Lisini’s monograph before making a purchase.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

REVIEW.

Prince d'Essling. Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise. Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV^e siècle et du commencement du XVI^e. Première partie. Tome I. Ouvrages imprimés de 1450 à 1490 et leurs éditions successives jusqu'à 1525. Florence, L. S. Olschki; Paris, H. Leclerc.

IN 1892 the Duc de Rivoli, as the Prince d'Essling was then entitled, published what he now describes as 'notre premier essai, très incomplet,' on Venetian illustrated books. After fifteen years of diligent collecting and research he has again taken up the same subject, this time with a wealth of detail and of illustration, which must reduce any further attempt to deal with it to the insignificance of an appendix. The arrangement of the book is the same as that of its predecessor. Works are described in the order of their first illustrated editions, and all subsequent editions within the period follow immediately upon the first. The principle of this arrangement seems quite sound. To keep all the editions of the same work in an uninterrupted sequence is not so much an advantage as a necessity for effective study of their relations, and the weight allowed to the date

at which a work first began to be illustrated preserves the chronological feeling more adequately than might have been anticipated. While, however, we heartily uphold the general arrangement of the book, in one special group of instances it seems to us to have been wrongly, or at least doubtfully, applied. During the years 1469-1472, and in a few later cases, the work of the illuminator at Venice was facilitated by the employment of a wood-cut foundation over which the artist painted. Only a few copies out of an edition were illuminated in this way, and the existence of the wood-cut substratum for borders and initials was a new discovery at the time that the Prince published his first essay. In some cases different border-pieces were used in decorating different copies of the same book. The same border-piece is also occasionally found in books published by different printers. It thus appears probable that the decoration was the work of a firm of illuminators rather than of the printers, and in any case the existence of a majority of copies unilluminated would seem to forbid us to reckon a book as a 'livre à figures' because of the occurrence of the borders in one or more special copies. The Prince, however, has taken the opposite view, and thus, in the forefront of his arrangement, we find a whole series of classical works which were never really illustrated until in the early years of the sixteenth century illustration had become such a habit with Venetian publishers that few books could escape it. It would have been better, we think, to have treated the border-pieces by themselves and have based the

arrangement of the book solely on such illustrations and decorations as form an essential and integral part of the editions in which they occur. We must own, however, to a sense of ingratitude in urging this objection, as the liberality with which the use of these borders has been illustrated is of a kind to disarm criticism.

The book opens with an excellent account of the Venetian block-book of the Passion on which the Prince d'Essling has already written separately. After this, putting aside the interpolated classics, we come upon the 'Trionfi' of Petrarch and the Italian version of The Bible, both of them pulled forward several years, by the chance occurrence of a border in one or more copies of the Petrarch, and of six little wood-cuts in the John Rylands copy of the 'Bible' of 1st October, 1471. The discovery, by the way, of the wood-cut substratum to the little coloured pictures was made and communicated to the present writer by Mr. Gordon Duff, during his tenure of office at Manchester, so that it should not be ascribed, as is here done, to the present librarian. As regards the Bible of 1490, the first illustrated edition properly so-called, the Prince d'Essling records in a foot-note an interesting suggestion by Mr. Fairfax Murray, that the illustrations may have been the work of the miniaturist, Benedetto Bordone. With the thoroughness which distinguishes every section of the book, two specimens of Bordone's work are reproduced, and certainly shew that he and the illustrator of the Bible belonged to the same school, and that their methods of arranging their little pictures were closely akin.

As is well known, several of the Bible cuts were suggested by the much larger illustrations in the Bibles printed at Cologne, by Quentell, about 1480, and speedily imitated at Nuremberg and elsewhere. In another footnote we are reminded that this debt was repaid in a curious manner, some of the Venetian wood-cuts having been copied, in 1516, in a Bible printed at Lyons by Jacques Sacon, for sale not in France, but by Koberger at Nuremberg. Altogether nearly a hundred pages are devoted to biblical illustrations at Venice, and the numerous facsimiles bring the whole series under the reader's review. As he turns over the leaves he can hardly fail to be especially struck by the wood-cuts reproduced from the 'Epistole and Evangelii' of 1512, which range from a very fine folio-page cut of Christ and S. Thomas, bearing the device of Marc Antonio Raimondi, to the St. James the Greater which looks as if it had come out of a cheap Greek service-book of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The relation between Dürer's Apocalypse and the Venetian edition of 1516 is another point illustrated with great lavishness, the suggestion being made that Domenico Campagnola may perhaps have collaborated with Zoan Andrea in making the copies. In the 'Opere noua contemplatiua,' the late Venetian block-book, published by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, about 1530, Dürer's Little Passion, of 1510, was laid under contribution for the representation of Christ cleansing the Temple and, as usual, both wood-cuts are here reproduced.

If the hundred pages devoted to Biblical wood-cuts

may be cited as an example of how exhaustively the Prince d'Essling has treated his larger headings, his work is no less valuable for the success with which he has hunted down hitherto unregistered books of extraordinary rarity, and made them known to students by an accurate description and facsimiles of the wood-cuts which give them their value. As the present volume approaches its limit, in 1490 and the years which immediately preceded it, these finds become important. Such, for example, are the 1486 'Doctrinale' of Alexander Grammaticus, published by Pietro Cremonese, with a singularly graceful decorative title-page; the 1487 'Fior di Virtù' of Cherubino da Spoleto, with a title-cut which evidently inspired, though it was far surpassed by, that of the edition of 1490; the 1487 'Meditationi' of St. Bonaventura, with some of the cuts from the early block-book of the Passion, and the 1488 'Opusculum de Esse et Essentiis' of S. Thomas Aquinas, with a title-cut of a boy lighting a fire by means of a burning-glass. This last book was produced 'impressione Ioannis Lucilii santriter de fonte salutis et Hieronymi de Sanctis Veneti sociorum,' and by comparison with the same printer's 'Sphaera Mundi' of the same year, the Prince reaches the conclusion that Hieronymus de Sanctis was the cutter of the wood-cut. The evidence for this is quite sound, for in some crabbed verses in praise of the printers it is said that the 'schemata' of the 'Sphaera Mundi' were 'reperita' by Santritter:

Nec minus haec tibi de Sanctis hieronymus debent
Quam socio; namque hic invenit: ipse secas,

and there can be little doubt that the illustrations are by the same hands. It is a little surprising, however, to find the Prince paraphrasing the last line of verse: 'il est dit très précisément que Iohann Santritter a donné l'idée des figures qui illustrent ce traité d'astronomie et que Hieronimo de Sancti les a exécutées.' The word 'invenit' usually means much more than the 'giving ideas,' it means specifically 'designed,' and conversely 'seco' means much less than 'execute,' it means specifically 'cut.' Now in mentioning the miniaturist Benedetto Bordone in connection with the Bible of 1490 the Prince seems to hold the view that there was an artist who designed illustrations as well as a cutter who cut them, and if this is so it is as a skilful cutter rather than as 'le plus remarquable de tous les illustrateurs de livres, a Vénise, dans les dernières années du XV^e siècle' that Hieronimo must be honoured. The high praise which the Prince bestows on him is based mainly on a 'Horae' which issued from his press in 1494, one of the illustrations in which, an Annunciation, seems to us to deserve the eulogy, while the merits of the others are less conspicuous. From the evidence before us we should be inclined to attribute only the Annunciation to Hieronimo, and at least to leave it open whether he should be ranked as a designer as well as a cutter. Hitherto, however, no one has done him justice in either capacity.

The 'Horae' of 1494, of which we have been speaking, finds its chronological place in an article on the Venetian 'Books of Hours,' which extends to ninety pages and is crowded with facsimiles, not

only of Venetian cuts, but of those in the early Paris editions which were largely borrowed or imitated in Venice. Coming, as it does, almost at its close, this exhaustive article completes the impression which every page of the volume suggests, that here we have a book in which enthusiasm and knowledge, conception and execution, have gone hand in hand almost to the utmost possible limit. It is obvious that no pains, and no expense have been spared to make this great monograph adequate to the point of finality, and fortunately, it is equally obvious that both the pains and the expenditure have been skilfully and successfully directed to their end.

A.W.P.

NOTES OF BOOKS AND WORK. The following summary of a paper by Mr. W. W. GREG, read last year at a Literary Congress in Switzerland, will be of interest to anyone desiring information as to the Malone Society. It should be stated, however, that it is unofficial and has not been revised by Mr. Greg himself.

Some five-and-twenty years ago, German editors first insisted that a critical edition should retain as much as possible of the character of the originals upon which it was based. They thus combined the English antiquarian reprint, which is sometimes accurate and often useful, and the English literary edition, which such works as the 'Cambridge Shakespeare,' Dyce's 'Beaumont and Fletcher,'

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and Bullen's 'Peele' show to be at times a production of laborious scholarship and real ability. Valuable results were thus achieved, nevertheless the combination is not satisfactory. Thus in such an excellent example as Breyman's edition of 'Faustus' in the space of five lines we find two full stops, one exclamation, one query mark, one comma, and one numeral, all inserted within brackets, besides two asterisks of which the meaning has to be discovered. We are also informed that where the Editor had printed 'When' and 'shal' the first quarto read 'when' and 'shal' and the second 'When' and 'shall.' In a word we have not a readable text, but a wonderful collection of materials towards a text. Less logical editors have tried to preserve typographical amenity by refusing to follow the method to its conclusion, and the modern critical edition is essentially a compromise between the incompatible claims of philologists and literary students, useless to those who wish to do independent work on the text and yet full of what to the unphilological seem pedantries. If the Malone Society can carry out its design, editors will no longer have to distract the attention of their readers by the record of obvious errors or insignificant idiosyncracies in their originals, because they will know that any serious student can work on the very materials they themselves have used, not as now in a dozen different libraries, but in his own study. Each generation must be left to make its own critical editions according to its own taste and knowledge, but it ought not to be impossible to produce reprints of the original texts which shall be for practical purposes final. It may be thought that these could best be made by photography. But photography is not only expensive, it is also open to the grave objection that where an original is faulty it exaggerates its defects, often to the point of illegibility, whereas an editor by comparing two or more copies may be able to state the true reading quite decidedly. For the Malone Society reprints a type is chosen representing

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as closely as possible that of the original, and in this type the text is reprinted, letter for letter, word for word, line for line, page for page, and sheet for sheet, the proofs being read with the originals at every stage by at least two persons. The only alterations allowed are the correction of slight irregularities in indentation and spacing not affecting the typographical arrangement or division of words, disregard of wrong founts, and setting right turned letters. Collotype facsimiles are added reproducing the title-page, any ornaments or ornamental initials in the original, and enough of the text to show the type and general arrangement. A brief introduction states the known external facts concerning the play reprinted, and these only. This is followed by a list of doubtful or irregular readings to show that their occurrence in the reprint is not due to oversights, suggestions as to the right reading being sometimes added in a parenthesis. Readings are also given when variations have been noticed between different copies of the same edition, and where necessary a second list is added, recording the more important variations between different editions.

While the production of these texts is the main object of the Malone Society, it will also in its 'Collections' print inedited records and documents illustrating the history of the drama and the stage, and notes as to new facts. Subscribers for 1907 have already received four plays; a fifth play and a first instalment of 'Collections' are still to come.

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